

Francesco Iacono

THE ARCHAEOLOGY
OF LATE BRONZE AGE
INTERACTION AND
MOBILITY AT THE GATES
OF EUROPE

PEOPLE, THINGS AND NETWORKS
AROUND THE SOUTHERN ADRIATIC SEA

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Interaction and Mobility
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The Archaeology of Late Bronze Age Interaction and Mobility at the Gates of Europe

People, Things and Networks around the
Southern Adriatic Sea

Francesco Iacono

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To Pietro, the sun

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Needless to say, I am the only one responsible for the views and ideas expressed in the following pages, and any mistake/inaccuracy is entirely my fault.

Abbreviations

EBA	Early Bronze Age
EIA	Early Iron Age
FBA	Final Bronze Age
FS	Furumark Shape (see Furumark 1941)
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MH	Middle Helladic
RBA	Recent Bronze Age

Appendix 1: Available online at <http://tiny.cc/Appendix1>

Appendix 2: Available online at <http://tiny.cc/Appendix2>

Introduction

*“A mare, a mare,
a do no canta iaddhru
a do no luce luna”*

“To the sea, to the sea,
where no rooster sings
where no moon shines”

A traditional song from Salento

As I write these introductory lines, an ever-increasing number of people are crowding the gates of Europe. Despite being strengthened by the day, the barriers appear all the more brittle and about to crumble. At places like Lesbos or Lampedusa, thousands face untold risks just to have a chance of becoming Europeans. Constant attempts at reinforcing existing barriers by the institutions representing ‘those inside’ are starting to look like the norm rather than an exception to be condemned. The mantras of ‘security’ and ‘control’ are endlessly repeated by newspapers and other media (a modern, extremely effective incarnation of the broader category of Means of Interaction that I explore in this book). These are effectively moulding the perception of what is happening, so much so that by a minute majority the voting public in the United Kingdom has decided that the only way to ‘take back control’ of their country is to create one more gate, this time an exit from the European continent.

Of course, the reasoning behind gates and control has a long historical heritage, but few would doubt that generally it has been mostly aimed at placating public opinion and its efficacy has been limited on the whole. Since its most embryonic beginnings, the history of Europe and the Mediterranean (both are inexorably intermingled) has tended to be, in the long run, one that has witnessed the gradual removal of gates and obstacles. Is this setting up of new barriers only a temporary fluctuation within a more general trend, or are we

experiencing a fundamental change in the geopolitical and social history of this area? There is neither an immediate nor an easy answer to such a question. But as a scholar devoted to understanding the history of social dynamics, it is of utmost importance to me to engage the public by discussing examples of situations of inter-societal connections comparable to those that we are now living through and that can help us better understand the way they work, and what comprises their social logic. The example that I explore in this book is at the same time very small and very big (or global indeed). It is small because it deals with a specific area of the Mediterranean, located in southern Italy. It is also big because the encounters and connections discussed and their social consequences branch out to embrace many different areas around the Middle Sea, from the early states of the Aegean through small communities inhabiting the coeval villages in the southern Balkans to pile-dwellers and *terramaricoli* to the north.

The aim of this book is to reconstruct and analyse the history of these different encounters, through both the micro-anthropological and macro-economic dimensions, highlighting in particular aspects such as 'inequality' and 'social differentiation'-terms that resonate with broader issues of contemporary society.

In dealing with these encounters, I will adopt a theoretical approach that will allow me not only to fully assess the nature and the intensity of these effects on southern Adriatic societies, but also to establish how, in turn, these changes affected the processes through which interaction took place. This approach, in itself new in its particulars, has in fact a long intellectual ancestry in Marxist social theory and other strands of radical social theory. As we will see, this theoretical 'lens' will allow me to address some research questions that range from the realm of the specific to the most general levels possible.

In Chapter 1, after a critical review of previous approaches to interaction in archaeology, I will set forth my theoretical perspective. While this is discussed in general terms and its applicability can be extended to any situation of interaction and mobility, I explain in the last section the way this might work with societies interacting around the southern Adriatic Sea during the Late Bronze Age. The classical Marxist concepts of relations and modes of production are modified and the (postcolonial) notion of encounter is used to look at how interaction is embedded in the power dynamics between different groups. In Chapter 2, an overview of the social geography of the Adriatic during the Bronze Age is offered, together with a synopsis of the previous research conducted in the area and a brief outline of pre-Late Bronze Age connections.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are identical in structure and represent the real ‘meat’ of this study. Each of these chapters deals with a specific time slice (according to the Italian chronologies), into which the overall period of this research is subdivided: Middle Bronze Age (Chapter 3), Recent Bronze Age (Chapter 4) and Final Bronze Age (Chapter 5). In each chapter, the evidence related to interaction in the southern Adriatic is presented according to the three spatial levels introduced in detail in Chapter 1. These levels are the Individual Community, the Small-Scale Network and the Wider Mediterranean Context. In the first level, detailed contextual information on the main ‘communities’ inhabiting the southern Adriatic and the traces of interaction there are identified. In the second level, regional network methods are considered. The third level offers a broader picture of the connections that we see expressed in the southern Adriatic at a Mediterranean-wide scale. In the concluding paragraphs of each of these chapters, the evidence presented and the analysis undertaken are examined in the light of the theoretical perspective. In Chapter 6, the results obtained are presented in a comprehensive synthesis, accompanied by a thorough discussion.

An Archaeology of Interaction and Mobility

A changing sea: Social differentiation and the Mediterranean through the lens of later globalization

Geographical scale, environmental diversity and demography, all conspire to turn the ancient Mediterranean into a roiling cauldron in which the encounter and clash between different peoples is the principal ingredient. It is principally because of these noisy meetings that the Middle Sea has obtained its premier position as a point of reference in our contemporary globalized era (Hodos 2016).

Until recently, the metaphor of a globalized Mediterranean was a predominantly positive one, and seldom openly challenged. Mediterranean history from prehistory to the beginning of the modern era was all in all – save the odd parentheses of ‘dark ages’ – an ineluctable march forwards, leading to a greater interconnectedness and increased relations between people. The ‘globalized’ Mediterranean, the locus of commercial and political empires and *koinai* of different sorts, represented the perfect antecedent to what was to become contemporary capitalism. Although geographically the Mediterranean was only a facet of this broader phenomenon, it was also an archetype, as it represented beyond any reasonable doubt one of the areas where connections had blossomed and borne fruit. Yet, to fast-forward to the present, the current crisis across the globe has weakened the faith in unfettered capitalism as an effective system (e.g. Piketty 2014). Such scepticism has instead come to affect the perception of globalization itself. If global capitalism is not this perfect system to aim at, then perhaps the connectivity that seems to be so intimately related to it is also to be judged negatively. This, in turn, spawned a renewed tension, resulting in the fragmentation of supranational identities whose integrity was once held as particularly important as they represented,

institutionally and economically, the global domain (such as the EU), ultimately producing a return to the local (Friedman 2008).

The idea of 'Mediterraneanism' (Harris 2005; Herzfeld 2005; Morris 2003) or of a possible common Mediterranean identity has to a degree resisted this trend towards fragmentation: its resilience is in its position, halfway between the globalized and localized discourses of micro-identity (Licciardello and Damigella 2014). This helped to soften straightforward nationalism into something which was more palatable and less exclusionary. At the same time, it was the product of the globalized dynamics of capital that exploited its ideological value through mass tourism.

Archaeology, like other fields of the humanities, was quick to seek to interpret the fragmentation of the recent globalization, not least because such actions resonated well with the increasing importance given to local trajectories and multivocality within the discipline, starting from the second part of the 1990s onwards (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 8–9). Because of this, within archaeology the awareness of the specificity of the Mediterranean domain has been inextricably connected more to the idea of fragmentation and diversity than to a set of homogenizing features. Within this diversity, and as a result of a general trend recognizable also in anthropology (Carrier 2015: 37), with some notable exceptions (e.g. Broodbank's global prehistory; see Broodbank 2013), specific attention to societal differentiation has gradually disappeared from programmatic declarations of more theoretically aware practitioners of Mediterranean Archaeology, despite still ranking very high among the interests pursued in international research (Flannery and Marcus 2012; Jung and Risch 2016; Kintigh et al. 2014; Price and Feinman 2010). It is possible to follow the gradual sidestepping away from issues of societal differentiation by comparing the guidelines offered by Blake and Knapp (2005) in the introduction of their very influential edited book with the guidance offered in the premise of the book *Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean* (Knapp and Van Dommelen 2014). Despite no specific attention being drawn to societal differentiation in the former, social change is addressed in almost all of the sub-themes identified within the key areas of enquiry explored. In contrast, in the latter book (Knapp and Van Dommelen 2014: 5), 'society' and 'exchange' are themes deemed to be 'too generic to be useful': and this too, even though social inequality and disparity resulting from patterns of exchange are topics even more critical now than they were back in 2005, before the global financial crisis which so much affected both countries on the rim of the Mediterranean and more broadly the globalized world.¹

It is not that concerns about power are not present in Mediterranean archaeology. Far from it, this continues to be crucial in archaeological endeavour and is normally filtered through general categories like 'elites'. We could even make a case that because of the ubiquity of such labels in archaeology, we derive the impression that the discussion of power features much more prominently than it actually does (Kienlin 2012; Legarra Herrero 2016). Indeed, so strong is this impression that the introduction of alternative ways of exploring social articulation, such as those represented by concepts like heterarchy and resistance, developed in contexts elsewhere around the world, cannot be welcomed enough (Crumley 1995; Given 2004; Gonzales Ruibal 2012; Kienlin and Zimmerman 2012; Scott 2009). Moreover, discussing the powerful within ancient societies (i.e. elites, nobles and so on) does not necessarily equate with an analysis of the way social differentiation works. Rather, in order to achieve the latter goal, it is vital to comparatively assess the whole spectrum of social realities (Bernbeck 2009). From a systematic perspective, unfortunately, the tools used for accomplishing such an assessment are often those, blunt by now, of the usual social typologies (e.g. tribes, chiefdom and the like) that despite undergoing extensive criticism over the decades have remained deeply entrenched in the explanatory vocabulary of archaeology (Pauketat 2011; Robb and Pauketat 2013).

The lack of theoretical tools and systematic discussion on social differentiation is all the more frustrating in regard to one of the most obvious dimensions of life in the Mediterranean (and certainly the one that granted this area its exemplary role in the modern world), that is, inter-societal interaction, the meeting of different peoples and groups and, hence, of different forms of power. In order to assess this, to the classical World-System approaches very popular in the previous decades (on which more will be said later; see Sherratt 1993; Wilkinson et al. 2011), it is possible to now add an alternative that has acquired considerable weight, namely postcolonial theory (Dietler and Lopez Ruiz 2009; Gosden 2004; Van Dommelen 1997, 1998, 2005; Liebman and Rivzi 2008; Van Pelt 2013; Vives-Ferrándiz 2009). The latter, i.e. Postcolonial theory, is undoubtedly appealing as it comes with many conceptual tools that can be fruitfully adapted to the analysis of cultural contact in the ancient Mediterranean. But it is not without its caveats too, the most notable of which is the inherent risk of crystallizing perceived categories of colonizer and colonized found in this broad set of approaches (see the subsequent text and Chibber 2012). Is the colonizer-colonized relationship sufficient to enable an understanding of any sort of cultural encounter and, above all, the way these encounters affect processes of surplus accumulation and societal differentiation?

Summing up, the relationship between inter-societal interaction/trade and social differentiation/inequality in the Mediterranean is interpreted either (a) through the world-system or postcolonial lens or (b) somewhat tacitly through common-sense categories like elites or the ‘usual’ social typologies ‘directionally’ ordered into an evolutionary trajectory of growing complexity (Chapman 2003), or (c) (and this is increasingly the case) it simply is not discussed. To be clear, once more, archaeologists do consider issues of social differentiation and hierarchy in the Mediterranean. Many have looked at these issues, through different lenses, integrating also the role of external relations (e.g. Broodbank 2013; Gorogianni et al. 2016; Lis 2017). What lacks, however, is a general theoretical model able to analytically make sense of the complexity of the real, accommodating in a systematic way, the role of external influence in different social and historical contexts.

If we do not assess the relationship between these two aspects (i.e. social differentiation and interaction) through a general theoretical approach, we lose our ability to make apt comparisons with the present (i.e. comparisons that are not only evoking the past but that analytically gauge similarities and differences). What happened in past social realities will then be intuitively interpreted through the lens of our modern common sense (i.e. we would assume that things worked exactly as they do today). In turn, accepting this means that any analysis of the past we can produce does nothing but restate the way societies work in the present. The most critical feature in archaeological and historical enquiry, however, resides exactly in the ability to distinguish between the different and the similar, what was like us and what was different and, most critically, why this is so.

The past in archaeology, as is the ‘different’ of anthropology, is a reservoir of social imagination (for a similar point, see Appadurai 2013; Graeber 2007). It defines the boundaries of possibility for human collectives today. If we want to use the past in such a way, we will need to effect a complete revolution, focusing our attention once again on an analytical approach to social differentiation, using explicit models to explore the social logic of encounters in the past.

It goes without saying that in order to accomplish such a task, context will be key. This will force us to take a route in analysing Mediterranean dynamics that is rather unusual. We will need to observe and interpret localized specificities, which from a sea-wide scale can be glimpsed only in the most general fashion. A regional perspective can allow us to do this, but it must be remembered that the region encompasses not only the land and

the sea, but also the chain of connections that spring from the same. Before addressing this regional perspective, it is absolutely necessary to clarify what inter-societal interaction and mobility actually are and what impact they have on human collectives.

What is interaction in archaeology?

Interaction can be defined as ‘reciprocal action; action or influence of persons or things on each other.’² The obvious prerequisite for interaction is therefore the existence of two or more entities (either persons or things). These entities, however, need to be really distinct, for example, spatially segregated. Therefore, the key element that leads to the identification of interaction in the archaeological record is the existence of a ‘gap’ between the entities involved, an empty zone (in terms of the things being analysed) that needs to be crossed. The size of this gap may vary so that we can speak of long-range, regional or local interaction. When this gap is reasonably short, interaction can often be automatically inferred, even in the absence of direct evidence for it. This kind of approach is the one adopted by some network approaches (e.g. point proximal analysis or some example of transportation network analysis, Broodbank 2000; Fulminante 2012; Terrell 1988), where a dense web of connection is drawn on the basis of physical contiguity. This is also the perspective of what will be termed the ‘micro-ecological’ approach (Broodbank 2013; Horden and Purcell 2000; Knapp and Van Dommelen 2014: 7–8), where connectivity is considered a fundamental feature of the relations between people and the environment. At the other end of the geographical spectrum, long-range interaction is conceived of by World-System theorists (Chase Dunn and Hall 1997; Frank 1993; Wilkinson et al. 2011) as a worldwide universal affecting the development of every human society in some form. For all these approaches, interaction is an immanent property of social life (but see Dawson 2014: 45–47).

The nature of what happens to the interacting parts is profoundly ambivalent. Interaction is, at the same time, action (from the Latin for ‘to act’) and influence (‘to flow into’, originally an astronomical term). Much of the attention previously devoted to the topic of interaction in archaeology has been actually dedicated to the nature of the action (see the next section), ironically an aspect that is inevitably beyond the sphere of direct observation by archaeologists.

Influence – a quite abstract concept in itself – has received, in comparison, far less attention and, although there have been some attempts to investigate

it (Renfrew and Level 1979), evades explicit definitions, perhaps because it potentially encompasses an endless variety of social practices, even more so than action. In the broadest possible social terms, it may be thought of as the results of the action, its effects. Indeed, it is only this last element of the overall semantic field of the word 'interaction' that is directly represented in material culture assemblages. These effects can manifest themselves in a variety of ways. They can be tangible items and/or raw materials which are moved across space (e.g. Cline 1994; Tykot 1996). They can be information (either technological or stylistic) regarding those items (Kristiansen and Larsson 2006), which implies a certain familiarity with the original objects (as in the case of local imitations of exogenous objects; see, for example, Nakou 1995: 13–15; Sherratt 2000). Finally, they can be as immaterial as the reproduction of a practice attested in another locale.

The effects of the actions, therefore, are not limited to their direct material outcome. It is necessary to retranslate the pattern recognized in the archaeological domain again into social terms, trying to assess the more profound effects of the actions on the everyday life of the communities involved. This, of course, constitutes a further level of interpretation. It is at this level that elements that at first sight may appear not to be consistent as a trace of interaction may acquire a renewed importance. This consideration is the basis of World-System approaches, where differential trends in the increase and decrease of various (mainly economic) indicators in archaeological sites can be understood in relation with large-scale dynamics.

In brief, from these considerations, it is possible to argue that the word 'interaction' has been used by archaeologists to represent a number of different meanings, usually solidifying around the 'action' and its influence/repercussions in the social domain. At an immediate material level, it is possible to define interaction in the broadest possible sense as *the discontinuous spatial displacement of similar materials and/or remains of actions archaeologically traceable to an exogenous origin*. Albeit operationally useful, this definition does not account for other deeper social effects of interaction that are, in the end, what really matters.

Interaction and/vs. Mobility

As mentioned earlier, the identification of the nature of an action has been the object of much attention in past theoretical debate. The aim of Renfrew's (1969, 1975) systematization, for instance, was to reconstruct the various possible

actions behind the effects identified at an archaeological level by means of a number of different models of 'trade'. The validity of this approach has long ago been questioned, and many alternative models with the same aim (although sometimes not equally formalized in their archaeological expectations) have been formulated (Hodder and Orton 1976: 99–154; Ibanez et al. 2016; Stein 1999). Besides pinning down the characteristics of different kinds of trade, as suggested by Bevan (2007), it is important to consider that trade itself is only one possibility in a range of potential different actions which may well include coerced or voluntary movement of people, looting and theft. There is an immense literature of case studies and broader theoretical interventions aimed at exploring the distinction between these different possibilities. This often presents arguments whose strength is variable and is often influenced by specific agendas (Middleton 2015). While many researchers had usually preferred explanations highlighting the importance of broad social and economic processes, somewhat downplaying mobility, in the early 2010s matters changed dramatically and it was simply no longer possible to rule out this latter aspect. The sheer amount of people crossing the Mediterranean sea in search of shelter and/or fortune produced an extremely tangible evidence of what mobility might mean and entails. Of more impact than developments in ancient DNA and stable isotope analysis (that also played a chief role in reviving mobility as a theme, see Heyd 2017; Kristiansen et al. 2017), and more than the influence of 'pre-existing interests in connectivity' (Van Dommelen 2014: 480), were the social and historical conditions pertaining in the Middle Sea in the aftermath of the Arab Spring and Syrian War (Hamilakis 2017a) that had the power to U-turn research agendas. As suggested by Kristiansen (2014), 'everything that was "forbidden" research 10–15 years ago are now among the hottest themes'.³

Despite representing a radical departure from previous theoretical 'taboos', it is doubtful that mobility in reality could function as a paradigm shift (Sørensen 2015), as, rather than being an explanation it is something to be explained through the analysis of past societies (Van Dommelen 2014). It is new scientific developments and the broader cultural trends within and beyond archaeology, as well as dramatic events occurring today in the Mediterranean, that have made us aware that the layered processes that archaeologists are often engaged in interpreting are actually the cumulative effect of 'everyday' events in which mobility (and, alas, related potential tragedy) can play a role, even an important one. But alongside these, other kinds of actions occurred too.

Interaction and networks

One of the general approaches that has tried to grapple with the phenomenon of 'effect' in interaction is the network approach. By this, I have in mind a broad umbrella of perspectives that made use of a specific mathematical construct, that of graphs: the connection of different nodes through edges showing peculiar properties, either as a formal methodology or as a broad metaphor through which to examine human relations (Collar et al. 2015). Networks, however, are chiefly a method, unless combined with other forms of theory – and for some, this actually constitutes an advantage (e.g. Knappett [2013] discusses this in comparison to cladistics and other forms of networks available in evolutionary archaeology).

What can be noted in this approach, however, is that, as is often the case, there is a lack of explicit perspectives and interest towards the issues of power and inequality rather than a lack of theoretical assumptions, tout court. Indeed, one of the most widely diffused approaches to the use of networks in archaeology is the one that borrows 'ready-made' social explanations from Social Network Analysis (henceforth SNA, what Schortman [2014: 169] defines as 'structural perspectives'), the branch of sociology that first developed a graph-based and theoretical approach to the study of society (Blake 2014; Brughman 2012: 641; Emirbayer 1997; Knappett 2013: 7; Mills 2017; Mische 2011).

Another approach that has been frequently employed by archaeologists in their network applications is Systems theory. Whether in the traditional cybernetic version (Van der Leeuw 2013) or in more recent versions ranging from Complexity theory to communication-based approaches (Bentley and Maschner 2003; Mizoguchi 2009, 2013), Systems theory continues to maintain a position of considerable popularity in archaeological enquiry. In its most updated version (i.e. that concerned with complex systems), the main innovative point relates to the dynamicity of systems as well as their overall unpredictability (Bentley and Maschner 2003). Within this broader domain, explicit references to popular concepts developed (or, in many cases redeveloped after an initial discovery in SNA; see Scott 2000: 7–33) by social physics, such as small worlds, have also surfaced in archaeology (Blake 2014; Broodbank 2000; Coward 2010; Graham 2006; Malkin 2011). This is not the place to discuss in detail the advantages and shortcomings offered by these approaches, which have already been effectively highlighted by Brughmans (2012; see also Mills 2017). Suffice it here to add that as in network science 'the focus [was] shifting away from the analysis of the properties of individual vertices or edges within small systems to consideration

of the statistical properties of networks' (Prignano et al. 2017: 126), so the possibility to take into account those social agents responsible was gradually being removed. Simulation methodologies such as Agent-Based Modelling (e.g. Crabtree 2015; Graham 2006; Graham and Weingart 2015) can undoubtedly offer useful complementary insights, although since we are also those deciding the rules according to which agents and systems work, the risk of tautology remains high.

A final stream of network-inspired scholarship is based on a much wider movement in social theory, named Actor Network Theory (ANT), originating in the 1980s from the studies on the sociology of technology (Knappett 2011; Knappett and Malafouris 2008; Watts 2013; Witmore 2007). In this case, networks represent mostly a metaphor. The starting point of such analyses is the equal (or symmetrical) status of humans and inanimate objects (embraced in the all-encompassing category of actants) taking part in interaction, including both animals and inanimate objects. ANT represents an overt retreat from the social, since according to this approach, this is something to be explained. Latour sees this retreat as a necessary step back in order to unpack many of the constructs usually taken for granted by what he calls social constructionism (broadly corresponding to most of previous social theory; see Latour 2005). Thus, while stimulating, ANT's vision of the social does not necessarily translate into an analysis able to highlight phenomena of societal differentiation.

Very few network approaches have adopted explicit social models; even less models tailored on pre-modern realities (among the few exceptions: Gjesfeld 2015; Golitko and Feinman 2015). And yet, at the same time, it is certain that, even when not directly stated, implicit social models inform the discussion in many of the examples of scholarship previously mentioned and that inequality as an issue is implicitly present in these discussions. Mitzoguchi (2013: 166), for instance, speaks of 'heterarchical social relations' as well as of 'agricultural-based social models', while Knappett (2011: 128) laments the lack in the classic small-world model of Watts and Strogatz (1998) of what he calls the 'sense of cost' which makes it less 'socially realistic'.

Over the next few pages I will try to overcome this lacuna, integrating network methods into a broader perspective whose starting point is the use of an open social model. I believe there is a concrete need for this, primarily because of our position in our own social reality: we all live in one of the most connected and unequal societies that has ever existed. If knowledge-productive activities have some relation with the social context in which they exist as I believe

(following Bhaskar 2008a), then trying to tackle these problems (also through the use of a network approach) is compulsory.

A radical paradigm

If networks capture only some elements and more is required in order to understand social dynamics, it will be necessary to build an engagement with other strands of social theory. This is what I will try to do in the rest of this chapter.

One of the main sources of inspirations to this extent will be Marxist thought. Evoking Marx's ghost well after the turn of the new millennium may offend many, like a bad smell (Burawoy 2000; Patterson 2003). Indeed, one can posit plenty of reasons not to do so, as such an approach seems to infringe most of the unwritten rules of archaeological theory, for the following reasons:

- It is not new or 'fresh' (it has been around for many decades).
- It is not trendy (having long gone out of fashion in most quarters of English-speaking academia in both archaeology and anthropology since the end of the 1970s or early 1980s).
- It has received an extremely bad press in recent times, mostly due to its unfortunate association with totalitarian regimes around the world (Burawoy 2000), albeit, as has clearly emerged, the publication of the entire corpus of Marx's and Engels' writings was seriously feared and fiercely opposed by Stalinism (Anderson 2010: 248–250).

Despite these shortcomings, I believe that in this precise historical moment, researchers are actually 'free' to make the most of the theoretical constructs of this rich branch of scholarship, transforming them from tools of a political hegemony to empowering instruments for critical analysis of the world.

A reassessment of the way society deals with inequality and with the process of appropriation/distribution of resources is no longer a topic confined to a nostalgic few. Understanding how different models of society respond to these specific issues is a major problem in an era of global capitalism, where the most disparate social realities are dragged into contact with each other and often into conflict by the almost overwhelming forces of the market. The reader might object at this point that archaeology, and prehistoric archaeology even more so,

has little to do with such overarching processes. Yet, as I have tried to highlight, making sense of this aspect in the long term is crucial in order to develop a critique of the present.

As remarked long ago by Deridda (2006: 110): ‘To continue to take inspiration from a certain spirit of Marxism would be to keep faith with what has always made of Marxism in principle and first of all a radical critique, namely a procedure ready to undertake its self-critique.’ In this spirit, the notions that I will adopt here, although maintaining a familial resemblance with those used by Marx (and many others), will be transformed by incorporating input from a variety of other sources, ranging from Gramsci to some strands of postcolonial theory. My focus, inter-societal relations, is a domain that has been often neglected in traditional explanations inspired by Marxism, but that is in fact crucial if we are to understand the phenomena of connectivity in the Mediterranean in all their complexity. In my discussion, I will try to draw parallels and connections with other strands of archaeological theory that have provided alternative answers to the same problems I will be discussing here.

In relation to our topic, that is, interaction, trade and mobility, one of the main points of discussion that has dominated debates in the past, particularly in the 1990s and early 2000s, has been the discussion over the relative importance of trade in the prehistoric/ancient Mediterranean, that is, whether it was a minor component responsible for the distribution of only a limited amount of resources, or whether it was a crucial part of life in the middle sea, already regulated by demand and supply mechanisms (Monroe 2009; Snodgrass 1991). The genealogy of positions in this regard shows, on the one hand, the influence of substantivism, the stream of thought for which the study of economy and trade should be considered embedded in the context of overall social relationships, via the work of Karl Polanyi (1944) and – particularly within classics – of Moses Finley (1999). On the other hand, the formalism (Schneider 1974) preached the universality of market concerns within any human society. As discussed, this diatribe belongs largely to the past, above all in the light of the fact that prestige goods models have clearly highlighted how an embedded economy can create situations in which demand/supply considerations do play a role (e.g. Sherratt 2004; Sherratt and Sherratt 1998). My ‘position’ here can be considered as openly substantivist, acknowledging the important role of trade and interaction in the ancient Mediterranean and, at the same time, the fact that this was embedded in societies. Given this, the

question through which I would like to introduce my approach relates exactly to what society is, and is not.

Beyond orthodoxy: Marx 2.0

One of the main shortcomings of network thinking relates to its difficulty in conceptualizing boundaries (Prignano et al. 2017: 129). What might be meant by inclusion/exclusion, when we are not able to assess what is part of the social unit of analysis and what is not? What is inside society and what is outside it? Marxism (or at least many of its versions) has an answer to this question, and this rests on internal relations. Relations are ontologically internal; that is, society does not need the intervention of external factors (Ollman 1976, 2003; for a similar point, see DeLanda 2006). Still, in any real-world experience, notions of space are those that ‘territorialize’ interactions, drawing boundaries and defining oppositions – between internal and external, between them and us (Fabietti 2013; Gregory and Urry 1994). If we are to make theoretical tools suited to the discussion of interconnected wholes, it will be necessary to break up society into its components, so to make sense of its daunting complexity.

In other words, and this is a fundamental step, it will be necessary to pass from an analysis of society as a general concept to an analysis of individual societies. Here, I do not wish to endorse common-sense categories like those of various modern ‘national’ societies or broad notions of ‘civilizations’ (Friedman 2008; see Wengrow 2010 for a subtler use of the latter concept). Rather, I desire to make sense of the relationship between the local and the global, by presenting the total as an articulation of such relationships functioning simultaneously but at various scales. Society at large is nothing but the coalesced agglomeration of a complex set of smaller units (DeLanda 2006).⁴ Such units may have varying sizes and functions, but the most critical factor in differentiating them is the fact that the majority of relations in which they are entangled occur between elements within their own boundaries. For instance, the social landscape of an inhabitant of a rural community will probably seldom (in terms of frequency) include relations with individuals located in faraway locales. This is not to say that external relationships do not have an important effect on the communities. But, in order to understand such an effect, it will be necessary to identify first the background against which this operates. The role played in this example by the village (which arguably represented a critical threshold of socialization in many contexts) might, in

other contexts, have been played by other social entities ranging from hamlets to a lineage group or an extended family/kin group.

Once the problem of the boundaries of the unit of analysis has been determined, it will be possible to discuss the main categories and relationships that describe what happens within them. Since, as I said, the categories I will employ are drawn from Marxist social theory, before moving to their description, it will be necessary to clarify a pervasive conceptual misunderstanding that has accompanied the development of the debate on Marxism (in both archaeology and other humanities) in the past few decades. This relates to the notion of production in Marx, which has been endlessly criticized as offering a rather partial picture of social dynamics and fundamentally underestimating the importance of consumption (most famously by Baudrillard 1975; see also Appadurai 1986; Benton 1989; for an anthropological criticism, see Friedman 1974; Rowlands and Gledhill 1998). Marx's notion of production was actually quite nuanced, much more than what was acknowledged in early readings of his work. As noted by Bhaskar (2008b: 87), indeed materialism and material production for Marx was eminently practical and asserted 'the constitutive role of human transformative agency'. Many have highlighted that, even within Marx's main oeuvre, what goes under the label of production is actually a complex process encompassing both production and consumption, essentially aimed at the reproduction of biological and social life in its entirety, including its ecosystem (Foster 2000; Gregory 1982; Meillassoux 1975), or as put by Marx himself 'the social production of their existence' (Marx and Engels 1987: 263).⁵

Directly connected to this consideration is the notion of capital that I will adopt. As I will be focusing my discussion on pre-modern settings, the word 'capital' is here intended in a very broad sense as something that 'pass and repass between clans and individuals, ranks, sexes and generations' (Mauss 1966: 10–12): human labour in its explicit (actual work, products) and implicit (obligations ratified through a variety of social practices and sanctions) forms. Such a definition resonates well with that of social capital described by Pierre Bourdieu (1986: 119) as 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'.

It is of course an abstract concept, but it should be able to account for the sheer variability in which economic activity is expressed in pre-modern contexts, where the 'social' and 'personal' implications of transactions are what make them worthwhile and where also aspects such as 'time' and 'activity' are paramount

(Graeber 2001; Gregory 1982: 12; a similarly ‘enlarged’ notion of wealth has also been adopted in quantitative cross-cultural studies, i.e. Smith et al. 2010).

Means, Relations and Modes of Production

These suggestions have important consequences. Indeed, if production is in reality both social and physical reproduction and the notion of capital can also encompass immaterial aspects, then some of the basic categories which have been traditionally been interpreted by Marxism in a more restrictive fashion need a reassessment.

To begin with, the means through which the reproduction of social life occurs, what is called by Marx ‘Means of Production’, do not include only tools and material.⁶ A more comprehensive interpretation needs to be drawn up. This recognizes that an instrument of labour too exists in immaterial aspects like ‘all the objective conditions necessary for carrying on the labour process’ (Marx 1976: 286; see also Hebblewhite 2012). Such an interpretation overcomes the rigid hierarchy between economy and culture, a critique which has been one of the centrepieces of Western Marxism (Gramsci 1971; Lukács 1971; on this see Anderson 1976). By the same token, ‘Relations of Production’, that is, the relationship controlling the Means of Production, have not only to do with controlling land and subsistence (although these aspects can and often do play a pivotal role), but can incorporate a variety of cultural aspects such as attitudes, predispositions and various forms of social praxis important to the reproduction of society.

Despite their potential complexity, Relations of Production can create a clash of interests between different social groups within societies. The subsequent processes of strategic alliance involved results in a dual relationship between a class of surplus producer and one of surplus appropriators. Other distinctions are within societies, such as gender or age, or that these are certainly important. But these additional distinctions contribute, often critically, to the definition of the notion of class here advocated. Anthropologists like Meillassaux (1975) recognized long ago the importance of age and gender differences in defining class relations.⁷ The existence of class in prehistory is not universally accepted either in Marxism or in anthropology. Nevertheless, the *Ethnological Notebooks* (Marx 1974) provides noteworthy hints that the recognition of class-like conflict in what had been once categorized in his earlier texts as class-less societies was one of the major contributions of his later life (Anderson 2010: 196–236). According to the perspective adopted here class is a relational property, that is,

labour exploitation and class considerations emerge to a certain degree in any relationship/confrontation between human groups. The point is therefore not to divide class-less from class societies, but rather to ascertain the degree to which class differentiation operates in a given context (Saitta 2005; Wolf 1997). The confrontation between two classes, although potentially articulated in different ways, will always entail three possible results: one or the other class will take a hegemonic position, or the two will reach a more or less precarious equilibrium. I explicitly use the term 'hegemony' (drawing upon the work of Gramsci) in order to emphasize the lack of mechanistic implications, and to highlight the cultural implications of such dynamics, which I will discuss more later on.

The problem of class leads us to another concept that in Marx's theory of history typifies the complexity of variables in Relations of Production in macro-categories whose crucial components may be immediately comprehended, known in Marxist literature as 'Modes of Production'. These are substantially different from other social typologies (e.g. Service 1962) as they are inherently dynamic and do not correspond necessarily to any given political form (Friedman 2008).⁸ Critically, traditional evolutionary ordering of bands, tribes and chiefdoms, equate social differentiation with political organization, even though the relation between the two aspects is anything but a straightforward one. The same level of social differentiation can apply to different forms of society and vice versa. Simplifying these two aspects confines the analysis of ancient societies to that of specific institutional or (more broadly) power configurations, which can be transient and, more often than not, belong to the domain of the event as opposed to that of the social history (*sensu* Braudel 1995). Relations of Production are never the only social connections present in societies; other relationships may at some point rise to claim this chief role, thus producing a structural change, that is, a change in the Modes of Production. It is essential to highlight that in the interpretation endorsed here, Modes of Production are not evolutionarily lined from the oldest to the most recent, but rather follow multiple and random paths which are impossible to teleologically order.

Interaction

The emendation proposed so far relates to an individual society. To fully accomplish the shift from the analysis of society at large to that of concrete societies in their mutual relations, it will be necessary to rephrase the very categories previously described, 'fractally' extending them to relations between societies. This is a difficult task, as well as one that has been attempted by many scholars.

Among others are World-System theorists, anthropologists and historians of the *longue-durée*, who, noting the inescapable necessity for a supralocal unit of analysis, have been all too aware of the difficulties introduced by dealing with the articulation of different components (Arrighi 1994; Wallerstein 1974; Wolpe 1980). As is well known, the answer of World-System Analysis (following dependency theory) was the introduction of two new categories of analysis, that is, core and periphery. The discussion presented here is not incompatible with this solution. Even so, and in contrast to the World-System Analysis, the focus here is not on the global scale, but rather on the very mechanics of how external relations influence the individual social realities involved, as well as how this is further modified by the logic of multiple connections and networks.

The key notion and starting point of such an approach is encounter: that is, whatever bridges the 'gap' entailed by interaction and the basic unit of what we will be discussing (Cornell and Fahlander 2007; Dietler and López Ruiz 2009; Faier and Roefl 2014; Molloy 2016; Stein 2005). Encounters are discrete events in which people from two or more different backgrounds come together. What we can describe as encounters are what inter-societal interaction is made of (Faier and Roefl 2014: 363). The very use of the word 'encounter' has been recently criticized by González-Ruibal (2009), as obscuring the clash dynamics often entailed by many (particularly colonial) encounters. However, when taken with the due contextual caution, 'encounter' as a term can be modulated to describe a variety of power relations (including power clashes and domination).

As a result of the 'discreet' nature of encounters, interaction is rarely enacted by whole societies (the only exception would be the rare occurrence of the migration of an entire population from one place to another), but by segments of them. The external procurement of valued resources that reinforce a group's position within internal Relations of Production is often one of the rationales for undertaking/maintaining interaction, although other motivations (e.g. the will to simply establish human contacts) are equally possible. The kinds of resources sought are not necessarily uniquely material and, on the contrary, one of the most precious, that is, human labour, is primarily social in nature. The rules of encounters belong completely to neither of the groups involved: a neutral space (defined by Homi Bhabha as a 'third space'; see Bhabha 1994; Fahlander 2007) is created. In this 'space', class relations are mixed and reshuffled; their outcome becomes dependent on the way the encounter is enacted.

Among the groups of people that take part in interaction within this third space, however, there are substantial differences. Not all groups are equally

able to access the means through which interaction happens. As with Means of Production, these means, which are defined here as Means of Interaction, can be either material, as for instance a cart or a donkey, or again a ship that is equipped and used to move people and/or goods from one place to another, and/or social, as for example the acknowledgement of the membership of a clan or family within a small circle of international elite exchange (i.e. the case of the gift exchange attested between sovereigns in the Amarna Letters in the Eastern Mediterranean, or the Kula Ring in the Trobriands Islands; see Leach and Leach 1983; Liverani 2002; Moran 1992). This is because, as noted by many since Lefebvre (2009), space is also a social product. Castells (2000: 441) defines it as ‘the material support of time sharing social practices’, and if this is true, then crossing it is not without social implications (Helms 1993: 109–127).⁹ The surplus invested in the Means of Interaction becomes one of the main factors on which processes of class differentiation and exploitation are based at the supralocal level.

Given what I have described so far, it is possible to introduce a further concept, that of Modes of Interaction (Fig. 1.1), constituted by the intersection in space of different societies (and their related Modes of Production). As with Relations of Production, the different positioning of groups with respect to the Relations of Interaction, the power relation within the Modes of Interaction, can create a class division that transgresses the boundaries of individual societies. The interests of these new classes need not be the same as those created by Relations of Production. As a consequence, a contradiction emerges between

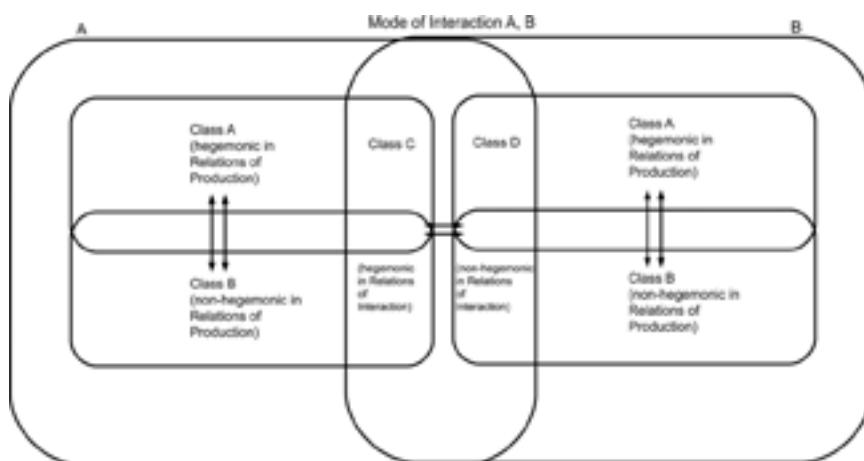


Fig. 1.1 Modes of Interaction as the intersection in space of two Modes of Production

these two sets of interests, namely those referring to internal and external (i.e. inter-societal) classes. The effects of interaction on the social structure of different entities involved will vary widely, depending basically on the results of the process of negotiation between these interests. Indeed, when in one entity the class which interacts and controls the Means of Interaction does not correspond to that controlling the Means of Production, and interaction is able to procure to this group a considerable amount of capital, then this may result in a shift of the internal power balance and an acceleration in the emergence of contradiction within a given Mode of Production (that is a change in internal Relations of Production). On the contrary, when Relations of Interaction favour the same class dominant in Relations of Production, the result will be a reinforcement of the existing order.

Groups with a relatively better position in Relations of Interaction (i.e. hegemonic) are in a privileged position as controlling the means through which interaction takes place; they can interrupt the connection channel or divert it towards another destination. Those in the non-hegemonic position can selectively 'accept' or 'decline' connections, but have more limited possibilities on influencing their course or outcome.

Hegemony, performance and material culture

I have characterized the ways in which class relationships (both within the same Mode of Production and in the Mode of Interaction) are negotiated as hegemony, adopting a concept central to the work of Antonio Gramsci; the use of this notion, however, deserves a further clarification that I will offer here.

Hegemony as a concept is not new to the anthropological discourse and has even become a trope for certain subfields (though, as noted by Crehan, its meaning has sometimes been trivialized; see Crehan 2002). Although the concept of hegemony has evolved through time (Anderson 1976a; Cospito 2004), some of its main characteristics have remained relatively stable. In its most mature formulation, hegemony is what mediates class relations, a combination of coercion and consent, with consent playing the quantitatively most significant role, at least in the examples taken in consideration by Gramsci himself (Cospito 2004). Indeed, Gramsci identifies the realm of action of hegemony in civil society, within the boundaries of the modern bourgeois state. This leads to the inescapable question of how to deal with hegemony in contexts where the bourgeois state is absent; what are the factors relevant in premodern settings? To adapt to these situations, we need to remove from the definition of

hegemony the references to any political and historical contingencies in which it was formulated. We can imagine hegemony in such contexts as being again constituted by consent and coercion. The less the power roles are formalized, the more aspects like coercion/force, impression management, discipline and psychological enthrallment become important. Some of these aspects play a pivotal role in the theorization of power as drawn up by another philosopher whose work has been extremely influential in archaeological theory in the past (e.g. Miller and Tilley 1984; Miller et al. 1989), namely Michel Foucault (in particular 1977 and 1982). While Gramsci focuses on classes, Foucault concentrates on the micro-political dimension and the individual. Traditionally, the work of Gramsci and Foucault have been considered as diametrically opposed, but attempts at combining selected aspects of the two approaches exist (Hardt and Negri 2000; Kreps 2015). The focus on class and social groups in Gramsci is certainly more akin to the perspective endorsed here, but beside intellectual ancestry, it is again the notion of encounters that can help bridge the micro and macro levels of analysis. In the real-life social encounters, that is, the ‘interaction rituals’ in which hegemony is negotiated, the final outcome can hinge upon sentiments as different as fear, suggestion, expectation and deference, through both verbal and non-verbal communication (Goffman 1956). Such a domain is equally relevant at the level of connections between different societies and there is no reason why this should be valid only for state societies and not for other human groups too (Arrighi 1994: 27–30; Cospito 2004; Cox 1983). We can therefore rightfully speak of hegemony in Relations of Production and in Relations of Interaction. Similar to what Goffman suggested for the level of class encounter within (an individual) modern society, Mary Helms (1988, 1993) highlighted some of the features that can be considered critical in influencing hegemonic balance in the confrontation between individuals (but the same logic applies for groups of people) coming from different contexts (classes within Modes of Interaction), chiefly in small-scale, pre-modern societies, within the context of the colonial encounters. Again, the ability to project a definite image, reflecting qualities that are known to be valued, produces an undoubted advantage. In the case of many of the examples reported by Helms and others, these qualities were primarily the knowledge of distant lands and the enchanting aura of mystical savoir-faire that travelling, as an action, donated to those who undertook it in the eyes of those excluded from it (Helms 1988, 1993). These same qualities were, for instance, appreciated by Marquesans and Hawaiians for the Europeans at the time of their first encounters with Captain Cook (see Helms 1988: 131–148; Sahlins 1995: 175–177). In the

social sphere, psychological properties contribute considerably to the balance of what we have defined as Relations of Interaction.¹⁰ The notion of performance I have advocated here is an extremely wide-ranging one, in which material culture has a pivotal role, helping to define the relative hegemony of one class with respect to another. Dress, language, equipment, goods/gifts and means of transportation are all pieces of the overall performance.

The importance of material culture is a direct consequence of the very notions supporting Relations and Means of Interaction. These, indeed, imply that interaction and social encounters always entail some form of resource investment in advance and a related pay-off of capital (this concept being used in the broad sense previously specified). If this is true, then every kind of interaction can be theoretically envisaged as an exchange (Pauketat 2011: 2). This has important implications for the study of situations that cannot be documented through ethnography and/or other narrative sources of evidence. Indeed, although we might not be always well equipped to see directly actions entailed by interaction (e.g. as in the case of actions occurred in the past), we might still have access to some of the remains of capital, that is, the material culture.

Material culture offers clues regarding the nature of the Relations of Interaction between entities that interact. Indeed, when a group or a class (according to our terminology) is relatively hegemonic in Relations of Interaction, then some of its cultural traits will be likely appropriated by those non-hegemonic groups with which they establish the interaction. This is because the adoption of such traits sends important signals to the rest of society that does not take part in interaction, bringing out the closeness of those locals partners (often corresponding with local elites) with their powerful/hegemonic associates (Helms 1988: 148–149). Quite predictably, if external relationships are critical to the maintenance of a hegemonic position in Relations of Production, then, lacking any form of restriction, these exogenous cultural traits will be employed in processes of competition for political and/or social power, ultimately spreading and becoming more and more popular.

So far, I have referred generically to cultural traits, but again these are very often embodied in different kinds of material cultural items that are used in lives of communities. Objects bearing these exogenous traits are therefore used as cultural diacritics, expressing what has been defined as the salient affiliation between the two different interacting groups and individuals belonging to them (Helms 1988: 111–130; Schortman 1989; Stein 1999). This is even more apparent if we consider the ‘personal’ nature of economic transactions in those

premodern societies previously highlighted (Gregory 1982), in virtue of which objects can stand as proxies of people and their qualities. From this, it can be argued that the larger the quantity and the range of material cultural features and/or items appropriated from one area to the other, the more the balance of hegemony is in favour of those whose culture is being incorporated in the new context. It is important to highlight that this is not a simple process, but occurs through an endless number of negotiations. Postcolonial theory has rightly found fault with any simplistic interpretation of the phenomena of appropriation of exogenous elements (both material and not), highlighting the importance of strategies that symbolically subvert hegemony (such as hybridization and mimicry, Bhabha 1994). While undoubtedly critical, we can fully gauge their importance only by acknowledging that these strategies occurred on a basic matrix of power relations that was produced by the political economy of colonial dominance. As noted by González-Ruibal (2009: 286), 'portraying social and political relations in a colonial context as equal and non-conflictual disguises real power relations, coercive strategies and diverse forms of domination'. Using one of the examples reported by Van Dommelen and Rowlands (2012: 25), undoubtedly objects like European clothes imitated by Polynesians took on a very different meaning in Polynesia. And yet this truth does not change the very basic fact that it was the Polynesians who were appropriating material traits spread and/or advertised by Europeans and not vice versa. Equally, all of the examples of any reinterpretation of goods as reported by Russell (2017: 64–66) involve Western items that were assimilated in non-Western contexts and not the opposite. As put by Foucault (1980: 213): 'No one, strictly speaking, has an official right to power; and yet it is always excited in a particular direction, with some people on one side and some on the other.' Colonial situations did produce cultural influence in the context of the colonizers. However, this often occurred in such a way that its 'alien' nature was comfortably neutralized (Friedman and Ekholm-Friedman 2008: 2).¹¹ The reason why this is the case is the non-hegemonic role of those connected with that cultural origin among the colonizers.

This leads to a further element of uncertainty that is particularly relevant for prehistory when the power balance of the different actors involved in situations of intercultural contact is not always as clear-cut as in later historical situations. How are we to decide which part is the colonizer and which the colonized? How can we avoid the 'essentialization' of such roles? This decision is not a trivial one and actually critically affects the construction of historical narratives. Through time, archaeologists dealing with the archaeological record of the late prehistoric Mediterranean have also tried to find a solution to this uncertainty,

traditionally projecting backwards the experience of nineteenth-century colonialism (Dietler 2005; Gosden 2004). Yet for all its limits, such a solution was founded on the empirical recognition that people who exert some form of power on a place regularly end up having some of their cultural aspects included in the social practices of the others. In a way, the notion of Relations of Interaction, while acknowledging the complex nature of phenomena of cultural contact and appropriation, tries to explain the ways in which power exerts its effects during social encounters.

Networks

What has been presented so far concerns the working of interaction in a simple dual relationship. Dealing with multiple connections, as happens when moving from interaction to networks, imposes dramatic changes on the model.

When an interaction involves many actors, that is, many groups coming from several different societies, the relative position and topological relations between the entities involved acquire noteworthy importance. The hegemony expressed between class groups in Relations of Interaction is strongly counteracted when a large number of relations is in play. The absolute number of multiple links involved may improve the position of a group in its Relations of Interaction, as these allow the potential introduction of additional capital from contact with several other groups from different communities (Clark and Blake 1994: 20). This, in turn, modifies internal Relations of Production and as a consequence the amount of surplus (inclusive of both material and social capital, *sensu* Bourdieu 1986) available to be invested for Means of Interaction is enlarged. Such dynamics are of course at work only as long as the connections are not transformed into a complete military or political subjugation, as in this case what we define Relations of Interaction will effectively become internal Relations of Production of the occupier. Apart from acquiring a high number of interactions in absolute terms, the other element that is able to modify hegemony in Relations of Interaction is the strategic position (spatial, political, technological or social) in relation to some extremely valued and restricted resource/s. Entities that are placed in these favourable positions can therefore enjoy a considerable advantage in transactions with other Modes of Production and very often will manage to increase their level of capital accumulation and hence the amount of resources available for improving their Means of Interaction.

Spatiality

Besides topological relations, there can be no doubt but that the physical space to be crossed also constitutes a critical dimension to be addressed. The notion of space adopted will not be envisaged in terms of Euclidean linear or geometric distance, but rather in terms of time expended for travelling and ease of movement in relation to the Means of Interaction available, including their social connotations. This consideration appears to be even more important in pre-modern settings, where the limitations of existing means of transportation severely affected the movement of people and things. It is possible, therefore, to see the space around each community as constituted by concentric spheres, characterized by a predisposition towards certain kinds of mobility and interaction (Fig. 1.2). Naturally enough, this schematic model is specifically tailored to realities where transportation and communication technology does not allow the same ability to connect distant locales that will characterize later periods.

Thus, and immediately around the community, where ease of movement is the greatest, it is possible to identify the Bulk Goods Net. In this area, interaction can also entail the movement of a large mass of produce with relatively little effort.

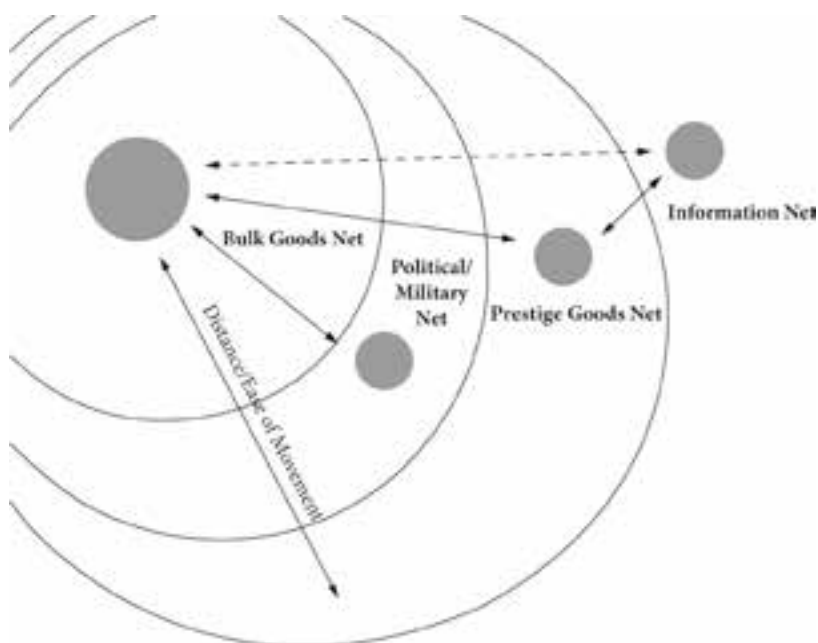


Fig. 1.2 Distance in Modes of Interaction.

In simple agrarian communities normally, this net is very limited, comprising basically what archaeologists and geographers define as 'catchment'. For larger political units (as, for example, in those often described by the Tributary Modes of Production; see the subsequent text), this can become quite extensive depending on the ability and the willingness to expend surplus in improving the Means of Interaction. In the modern World System, the Bulk Goods Net includes the whole world. In terms of exchange practices, in small-scale societies at this distance relationship and transactions tend to be characterized by reciprocity (Karatani 2014: 5), although forms of capital/debt accumulation are always possible (Halstead 1989).

Further off, it is possible to recognize the Political/Military Net (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997; Wilkinson 1987). At this distance, it is more advantageous for communities to establish interactions either politically or military by means of alliances, political marriages and similar.

Proceeding yet further outwards, there is a third level, namely that of the Prestige Goods Net. Here, given the constraints posed by distance, interaction will be centred on the exchange of few critical resources and/or valuable items, and does not require or imply a necessarily continued political or military involvement (but it may, for instance, include raids and pirate activity). Again, critical in defining the range of this net are features such as the capabilities of the technological Means of Interaction present as well as the level of significance/desirability of the resources sought. If a resource appears to have been particularly important, demand for it will constitute a strong stimulus for investing a larger portion of surplus in the Means of Interaction and so expanding and enlarging the distance that can be covered.

A last horizon is the fuzzy outer edge of the Information Net (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997). Here, there is no exchange of surplus as interaction is only indirect, that is, mediated by some other community.

I shall come back to the categories so far described later on in the book (i.e. in the last section of Chapters 3–5), but, for now, suffice to know that each of them includes within it all the others of a lower distance in rank. So, for instance, two communities placed at a distance corresponding to the Political/Military Net will probably have, together with diplomatic relationships, an exchange in prestige goods, although, naturally enough, exceptions are possible.

These categories defined in part by their physical positions correspond to the three critical dimensions of this book: the *Individual Community*, the *Small-Scale Network* and the *Wider Mediterranean Context*. In the following chapters, these different levels will be analysed both in isolation and in their mutual

relations, through the various periods in which our story is articulated. The correspondence between the conceptual spheres and the geographical scales to be analysed is not always perfect (e.g. bulk goods can occasionally travel over relatively long distances), and, indeed, this feature needs to be considered as a general tendency. Also, it is necessary to remember again that the notion of space they cover is not a standard 'geometric' one and, as a result, the boundaries of each of the spheres identified are necessarily fuzzy.

At each of the spatial steps identified (the Individual Community, the Small-Scale Network and the Wider Mediterranean Context), and with the obvious exclusion of the first one (which deals with dynamics internal to the settlement), the main unit of analysis considered will be the individual site. Taking the individual community as the building block of the analysis will allow us to bypass issues engendered by the use (and often abuse) of arbitrary partitions such as cultural groupings (see Roberts and Vander Linden 2011). At the level of the study of inter-societal interaction, cultures are certainly a useful way to envisage space, but they can easily become problematic. In the prehistoric past, it is easy to invent fictitious boundaries, which very often become so embedded into the archaeological discourse that they become virtually invisible to archaeologists (Shennan 1989). Furthermore, when combined with the new powerful results offered by ancient DNA, defining a culture may trigger the creation of simplified meta-historical narratives (Hamilakis 2017b; Heyd 2017; Kristiansen 2014).

The individual community

How are these nets to be identified in the archaeological record? The first level corresponds to the *Individual Community*, or to put it in archaeological terms, the settlement. Now, it is possible to argue, and indeed it has been argued many times, that the relationship between the archaeological site and the living community is anything but a straightforward one. Ethnoarchaeology, as well as landscape archaeology, have clearly highlighted the diverse and potentially extremely complex uses of space humans can devise for themselves. Yet despite this, when our definition of a settlement is attentive (e.g. does not include places which are so close as to be possibly part of the same community) and we are careful in taking into account possible functional variabilities within a location, the archaeological site remains the best approximation of the individual community. We will be looking at traces of societal differentiation

and the context of encounter as can be glimpsed through the archaeological record. Through this, we will see if and how internal Relations of Production in these small-scale social universes were affected by what was happening beyond their boundaries. The analysis will focus on establishing whether and to what extent the controlling and manipulating external connections could have been potentially used by any specific segment of the population to improve their position in Relations of Production.

As these connections manifest themselves as material cultural items coming from another place, traces of them and their use are chiefly what I will be discussing. Specific attention will be devoted to assessing whether such imported/imitated materials were restricted only to some specific functions or whether they covered the whole range of functions. In this way, it will be possible to glimpse the social practices behind the material record and their diffusion within the settlement.

Social networks and archaeological data

I have tried to bring out how contextual discussion should be able to explore the individual community, but how should we deal with other scales of analysis?

A fruitful way to tackle these issues uses SNA and graph theory (Scott 2000: 8–38). Social networks and graph theory are potentially able to address many of the theoretical questions that have been previously advanced and can provide a powerful tool for the analysis of Relations of Interaction of southern Adriatic societies. In particular, these are expected to affect dramatically power equilibria in Relations of Interaction, according to two main principles:

- The absolute number of multiple links improves a society's position in Relations of Interaction, as it suggests an increased/increasing number of possible interactions able to draw capital into each individual community, to modify internal Relations of Production, and as a consequence to increase the amount of capital available to be invested for interaction.
- The particular position of certain sites along routes and passages is extremely important, because these would control the exploitation of sought-after resources.

These two aspects correspond almost exactly to two concepts of crucial importance for social networks, namely those of Degree Centrality and of

Betweenness (Borgatti et al. 2006; Freeman 1979; Scott 2000). The first, from a purely operational point of view, corresponds to the absolute count of edges uniting one node with other nodes (Fig. 1.3). The idea on which this measure is based is that ‘as the process of communication goes on in a social network, a person who is in a position that permits direct contact with many others should begin to see himself and be seen by those others as a major channel of information’ (Freeman 1979: 219–220). The point made here by Freeman, at the level of a network of individuals, remains valid also at the level of interacting communities, to the extent that it is only necessary to replace the term ‘person’ with ‘community’ or ‘site’ and to add to ‘information’ also ‘capital’, in order to make the concept of Degree Centrality useful for the analysis of the southern Adriatic.

Betweenness (Fig. 1.3 b) can be defined as ‘the frequency with which a point falls between pairs of other points on the shortest or geodesic paths connecting them’ (Freeman 1979: 221). Betweenness is based on a different rationale compared to Degree Centrality as it basically measures the possibility of control that one node has against the overall network communication. Again, it is sufficient here to use ‘site’ instead of ‘node’ to see how this measure is potentially able to disclose the working of Relations of Interaction.

The use of simple Degree Centrality measurements appears to be extremely useful for the assessment of the medium scale of analysis, basically what I have referred to as the small-scale network. Indeed, at this scale, providing that there

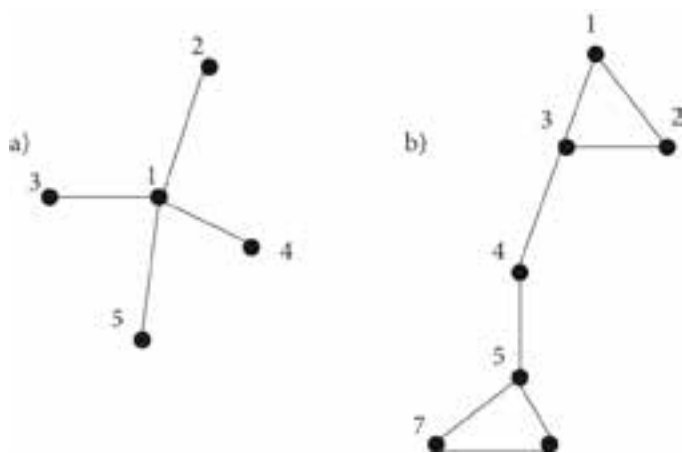


Fig. 1.3 Different measures of centrality. In the graph (a), node 1 has the higher Degree Centrality. In (b), 4 has the higher Betweenness.

are no outstanding obstacles in the landscape to movement (i.e. major elevation, substantial rivers and similar features), direct non-mediated contact between nearby communities is likely to occur with little limitation, making Degree Centrality a powerful tool for the analysis.

As the scale of connections increases, maritime mobility is probably the preferred choice: interaction becomes more 'costly'. The number of people directly involved are probably less and the high investment of surplus/capital leads them to select more attentively the nodes with which connections are to be undertaken. As a result, interaction becomes more 'nodal' in nature. This is particularly true for our specific period. Not least due to the perception of space/time that is entailed by coastal sailing, arguably one of (if not the) main means of long-range communication of the Late Bronze Age. Coastal navigation 'bends' not only time, as has been already suggested, but also space, creating in the same manner as does an organized road system, like the one depicted in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a geographic dimension which is topological (i.e. linear) more than physical, and in which the number of combinations and alternatives to the 'main path' are considerably limited. Given these features, Betweenness is likely to provide an accurate measure of centrality in interaction at the larger scale of this analysis.

Unfortunately, however, large-scale Late Bronze Age Mediterranean networks, represented in the last spatial sphere of our discussion, are extremely complex, including a vast and environmentally diverse area and communities with the most disparate social and technological backgrounds. Such factors make it *de facto* impossible to formalize the discussion of the larger scale in the same way as one can for the connections on the shorter range. The alternative would be constructing a complex mathematical model. An attempt by Knappett et al. (2008) still preserves heuristic validity but operates on a sample area, corresponding only to the southeastern Aegean, which is considerably better (and more uniformly) explored than the full geographic extent of the areas connected with the Adriatic (encompassing the greater part of the Mediterranean and parts of northern Italy/Europe). However, even the one variable that was required by the methodology of their study (i.e. site size) is simply not available for the overwhelming majority of central Mediterranean Bronze Age sites. Also, models like the one by Knappett et al. (2008) do not account for the role of social dynamics, which are critical here in this research. I will therefore treat Betweenness as a 'loose' concept rather than as a formal measure and combine it with the theoretical approach so far described.

The small-scale network

It is now time to see how to analyse the second critical scale of analysis identified, namely that of the *Small-Scale Network*. Here I will take into account a subregion within the larger southern Adriatic, that is, Apulia, which constitutes its western shore. The rationale behind doing so is that this region appears to be particularly well suited for the study of medium-range connections, primarily (but not exclusively as we shall see) characterized by overland movement. This stage of the analysis will involve looking at what I have termed the 'Political/Military Net'. Finding traces related to these aspects in the archaeological record is not an easy task. 'Military events' are normally quite difficult to identify in the archaeological record.

The political dimension is potentially more accessible. Anthropology and ethnography suggest that the ceramics as source material are again potentially of great help here. As previously highlighted, in many pre-modern societies, women have potentially played an important role in early non-specialized pottery production (Carlton 2008). This being the case, it looks safe to assume that in the past, similar pottery production could also have been linked to women. Consequently, interaction, as some of the features of such ceramic products bear witness to, can hypothetically be meaningfully linked to the activities or the movement of women. Within prehistoric and pre-modern societies, one of the main motivations for such movement was probably the change of post-marital residence resulting from exogamy (Galaty 2016; Sjögren et al. 2016). According to many scholars, exogamy appears to be regularly and positively correlated with closeness and ease of communication between communities (i.e. the easier the access to other communities and the closer they are, the more likely intermarriages will be; see Coleman and Haskey 1986; Relethford and Mielke 1994) and inversely correlated with the size of the villages (i.e. the smaller the size of the community, the more exogamic the community will be; see Bintliff 2000; Fornasin and Marzona 2009; Pettener 1985; Wobst 1974, 1976). These are patterns that, as we shall see, favour intercommunity marriage in the small and relatively close Bronze Age communities of Apulia. Marriage, which can be rightfully considered (at least partially) as a political act (Ensor 2013: 197–234), is potentially able to explain the circulation of some stylistic features within local pottery production, unveiling important patterns of interaction at a small-scale network (Hanna 1984; MacEachern 1998). Pottery might have constituted part of the dowry of the wife or a bride-wealth payment from the husband. Again, features within pottery attested at several different locales may imply that, when

settling in a new context, women brought with them stylistic characteristics they had learned in their original community. Obviously enough, there are also cases where pottery manufacturing is done by other individuals within communities or in which training in pottery-making is effected only after a move into a new community, thus making the interpretation less straightforward (Dietler and Herbich 1998; Herbich and Dietler 2008; Rice 2015 for a discussion).

The basic hypotheses related to women's mobility as suggested here, albeit appealing, constitute undoubtedly only some options within a range of possible rationales behind networks established which we see through the evidence of pottery production and use. Alternative reasons may potentially range from small-scale exchange to payment of various kinds of obligations. Indeed, as suggested for other contexts, it is also possible that pottery variability mirrored what was happening in other media, such as basketry (Sherratt 1997: 366) or textiles (Barber 1991). Since all of these activities involve the circulation of surplus/labour and the creation of debt imbalance between individuals and groups belonging to different communities, it does not appear too far-fetched to extend the label of political/military activities also to these.

To explore this specific scale of analysis in the next chapters, formal networks that unite different sites within the region will be constructed and these will use real archaeological evidence as a basis. Pottery is the category of material that will be employed, and there are several reasons for this. At least in the time frame studied, before the introduction of the wheel, pottery was a relatively widespread craft which was well rooted in Bronze Age societies and was potentially accessible to the largest possible sector of the population inhabiting communities around the southern Adriatic, much more than other media (such as metals). As in many other areas of the Mediterranean, clays suitable for pottery production are ubiquitous in the southern Adriatic region and relatively simple to collect and work. At the same time, however, during the period studied, this sphere of production was starting to express a level of elaboration unprecedented in the area, as attested by the introduction of a number of technological innovations such as the potter's wheel as well as dark-on-light painted wares (Levi 1999).

All these elements indicate that if we are to choose one class of material which has the highest potential for a 'bottom-up' social approach to interaction, an approach that does not speak only of elites, but that at the same time does not conceal their presence – in other words, an approach able to represent the whole spectrum of societies of the southern Adriatic – pottery is the best possible candidate. As suggested long back by Broodbank (2000: 180–183), one of the

most basic issues in this is the often relatively inconsistent nature of investigation that can alter substantially the results of analyses. This aspect will no doubt have an influence also on the result of the analysis presented in the following chapters. Given the impossibility of working out a systematic assessment of this bias (due mostly to the inconsistent standards of publication and post-excavation work), the only thing that we can do in mitigation is to make it as explicit as possible. Within Apulia, the most evident bias that can be identified relates to the better level of exploration for fortified coastal sites in comparison to those inland: this unevenness is due to both the greater interest of archaeologists in the coastal areas and the fact that their fortified nature has often proved to be effective in protecting archaeological evidence from erosion. The networks that I will discuss are built on the basis of the co-attestation of different stylistic characteristics within local pottery production.¹² The fundamental hypothesis on which this procedure is based is that, whatever the reason lying behind the human actions in producing the archaeological record, the contemporary attestation of the same features at two different locales does be token some sort of communication between the two communities inhabiting those sites. As a consequence of this, co-occurrence at different locales will constitute an edge in a network where sites constitute nodes.

In creating these networks, the 'spatial' dimension has been to some extent 'sacrificed' in favour of the topological one. This decision was taken recognizing that within a region like Apulia topography does not affect too severely interaction, and that the possible existence of intermediate sites not identified in the archaeological record should not change significantly the overall shape of the networks.

Once created, these networks will then be measured to see how centrality could have influenced Relations of Interaction, according to the theoretical framework previously defined. This procedure will allow us to establish what the level of local interconnectedness was among communities populating the southern Adriatic area, before and after interaction with the Aegean world, so helping to determine the hegemony of the encounters.

The wider Mediterranean context

The last level of analysis, namely the *Wider Mediterranean Context*, explores the southern Adriatic as a whole, establishing the role of the region in a pan-Mediterranean level of interaction. This segment of the analysis corresponds to what has been termed the 'Prestige Goods Net'.

The focus is, in particular, on connections between partners that are sufficiently distant from one another as to impede the creation of common political/military bonds, and yet close enough to make interaction aimed at the procurement of a restricted number of particularly valued resources important and worthwhile. The psychological implications of distance and the way these affect socialization between partners is a critical issue that will be explored in the next chapters (Helms 1988, 1993: 109–127).

However, in practical terms, it needs to be stressed that discussion of the Prestige Good Net demands first the specification of what can and what cannot be considered a prestige good. In this respect, the chief evidence analysed here, pottery, will be only of limited help, as there is a large number of other categories that can rightfully be considered as more ‘prestigious’, ranging from amber to ivory, to metals (especially precious ones, but not only these), to a multitude of perishable goods of this quality (i.e. textiles, spices and so on). The prestige use of pottery, in particular, needs to be limited to those cases where this material circulated as an item with high added value *per se*, or contained precious goods such as oil, honey or other similar products (Bushnell 2016; Knapp and Demesticha 2017; Sherratt 2001). Because of their relative scarcity for most of the Bronze Age, some ceramic classes (e.g. Aegean-type pottery in the central Mediterranean) seem to fulfil such a requirement, although this is not valid for the whole period.

Exploring prestige goods networks, that is, exploring the circulation of low-bulk, high-value goods, has been traditionally one of the main interests of European prehistory. Consequently, several models have been proposed through the years to explain the working of exchange in this sphere (Friedman and Rowlands 1977; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005; Sherratt 1993). These models suggest that movement of such categories of goods can be the result of different processes, and, among these, gift exchange is undoubtedly one of the most widely known, as well as one of the most readily accepted as an explanation. According to the classic definition, the goal of gift-giving is to create and maintain a continual state of indebtedness that binds partners involved in interaction (Carlà and Gori 2014; Godelier 1999; Mauss 1966). It is difficult to identify specific material patterns representing this kind of exchange: normally it is considered, rightly or wrongly, a sort of ‘default’ choice for societies, in the absence of any element hinting at different practices.

The situation is different for transactions that are more ‘economically oriented’, which exhibit attention to demand/supply considerations. Their

existence can be suggested in the archaeological domain by objects indicating an interest and use of methods of quantification and for assessing the convertibility of goods, such as weights, scales or ingots (Iacono 2016). The phenomenon of import replacement (i.e. producing locally copies of imported items) can also be considered indicative of attention towards demand/supply, although this is much more difficult to pinpoint. Local imitation of foreign goods alone is not a sufficient condition, as the really crucial aspect to detect is the will and determination to produce both at a level in volume and distribution, so as to force the original producer out of the market (Bushnell 2016).

Both gift exchange and demand/supply-driven transactions alike might have been framed within ritual events and/or contexts, which can potentially leave identifiable traces within the archaeological domain. The methodologies through which these aspects will be investigated are those of 'traditional' archaeological enquiry, that is, contextual examination, distribution of finds and stylistic analysis. Assessing change in these domains, through pottery evidence as well as that of other media, will allow us to reveal fine-grained modifications within what has been broadly defined as cultural influence. These elements can in turn highlight how cultural appropriation and, as a consequence, Relations of Interaction between the partners involved changed through time.

Mediterranean Bronze Age Modes of Interaction

The range of relationships described so far constitutes the conceptual 'backbone' of the approach that will be adopted throughout the study. However, the first step to put some flesh on this skeleton will be to assess the main features of societies that interacted around the southern Adriatic during the second millennium BC. In this way, it will be possible to see how the combination of these Modes of Production resulted in different possible Modes of Interaction.

To an extent, the Aegean world, being placed beyond the limits of the study area, will represent an 'external' actor, albeit an extremely important one. It is possible to characterize the Minoan/Mycenaean heartland as belonging to what Wolf would have defined as a Tributary Mode of Production (Wolf 1997: 79–88). As is well known, the Minoan/Mycenaean world was organized in a number of relatively small polities. Although many aspects are far from being certain, it seems that these kingdoms drew the surpluses necessary to the functioning of their political and military structures from 'tribute' coming from their territories (De Fidio 1992; Killen 2008: 160; Nakassis et al. 2011). It is extremely probable

that the means used by the institutionalized elites of the Mycenaean palaces in order to extract surplus were primarily political/military, although occasionally other forms of extraction may have been in place (Bennet 1985; Halstead 2001, 2011; Jung 2016, 2017).¹³ Putting aside the internal functioning of redistribution, an aspect that overall is of relatively little interest here, the important feature of the Mycenaean Tributary Polities with respect to the relationships with the southern Adriatic, is the existence of long-range, organized movements of goods. This is a feature embedded in the very functioning of the mode, as in the overwhelming majority of cases ethnographically and historically attested, surplus accumulated is not immediately consumed locally but circulated widely in commercial and political networks (Wolf 1997: 82). This movement of goods, however, was not among the range of activities that was directly controlled by palatial administration or, if it was, very little trace of this has been preserved in the surviving Linear B record. Movement of goods is therefore primarily attested by the archaeological record and, as will be seen, will constitute the main focus of this analysis (Killen 2008: 162; Sherratt 2001; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991).

Many Italian proto-historians, following the lead of Renato Peroni (1996; see also Cardarelli 2015; Cardarelli and Vanzetti 2014), have tended to consider mid-second millennium BC societies of southeastern Italy as 'tribal', that is, according to their terminology, not organized on the basis of kin/lineage relations, but only on the basis of territorial affiliation. The dichotomy between kin and territory is however a false one, particularly in sedentary agrarian communities. 'Kinship' might act as 'a way of committing social labour to the transformation of nature through appeals to filiation and marriage, and to consanguinity and affinity' (Wolf 1997: 91), thus masking subtle forms of exploitation, and consanguinity, which is often considered a key feature, may not have been that important compared with co-residence in the same territory (Wolf 1997: 88–96). Because of this, in this work I will consider Bronze Age societies of southern Italy as being Kin Ordered. The notion of a Kin Ordered Mode of Production is not without problems. As noted by Rowlands (1998: 150–151), references to kinship are ubiquitous in societies pertaining to many other Modes of Production. The crucial difference, however, resides in the institutionalization of other social relations as the predominant one, something typical of the Tributary Modes of Production but not of Kin Ordered societies (i.e. Friedman and Rowlands 1977 in which Tributary Modes of Production are named 'Asiatic' states).¹⁴ Overall, the reasons for considering societies facing the southern Adriatic Sea as Kin Ordered are inherent more in the lack of any hint suggesting the relevance of social

relations of a different nature, rather than in any other consideration. Indeed, owing to lack of any direct written evidence, it is possible to make inferences about the social structures of these communities only on the basis of their physical remains. They are often organized in villages or hamlets limited in both size and (arguably) population (e.g. Cazzella and Moscoloni [2001] suggest a population of 200 for one of the main Protoapennine sites of the region, Coppa Nevigata). As ethnographically this spatial magnitude tends to be associated with simple, small-scale communities for which kin ties represent the dominant social relation (Ensor 2013), it is argued that probably everyday life in prehistoric villages of the southern Adriatic was correspondingly organized in similar way.¹⁵

If these two models are simplified static snapshots, useful only to schematically represent the basic characteristics of societies interacting around the southern Adriatic, they are not sufficient by themselves to illuminate the nature of interaction as well as its consequences. As mentioned earlier, context-specific notions of distance need to be taken into account. This can be achieved by putting into relation distance with what is known regarding Relations of Interaction: that is, to what extent the societies analysed possessed technologies able to enhance their communication capabilities (i.e. sailing or the use of pack animals), and whether their social composition enabled people to make full use of the opportunities offered by those technologies (i.e. whether it was socially acceptable to invest a large amount of capital to equip, say, a ship for long-distance journeying). Using the spatial nets defined earlier, it will be possible to suggest how space and distances have affected the social dimensions of interaction. However, it will be necessary to briefly describe the physical characteristics of the lands and the seas first that constitute the stage of our story.

The Southern Adriatic: Social Geography, Previous Studies and Prelude to Late Bronze Age Interaction

The southern Adriatic: Sea, land and Means of Interaction

Adrias Kolpos

In the third century BC, the renowned geographer Eratosthenes, who spent most of his life in the cosmopolitan court of Hellenistic Alexandria, was still convinced (*Strabo I, 15*) that close to its northern end the Adriatic Sea was connected with the *Pontus Euxinus* and that this waterway connection corresponded to the route of the mythical voyage of Jason and the Argonauts. A similar perspective was reported by the coeval poet Apollonius Rhodius, who, in his *Argonautica*, considers the Adriatic as the sea of *Chronos*, a deity who in the classical world represented the remote north and the west (see Coppola 2002). While we can assume that Apollonius' statement was somehow affected by his being an archaizing Hellenistic poet, to assert that Eratosthenes was purposefully 'playing' ignorant remains less easy to argue. The same (low) level of knowledge of the Adriatic waters was demonstrated much earlier by the so-called Pseudo Scylax, author of a fairly detailed nautical treaty. This *periplous* of the whole Mediterranean Sea is normally quite accurate in reporting distances between various harbours in terms of days of travel. However, only a handful of landfalls are recorded in the Adriatic Sea and the spacing between them is often not stated.

All these accounts reveal that even at an extremely later date, when most of the Mediterranean was characterized by a degree of cultural commonality (a condition that, some argue, also appears to be more limitedly met during the Late Bronze Age [LBA]), and despite hosting a number of recent Greek colonies, the Adriatic Sea was, from an Aegean and eastern Mediterranean point of view,

a place that was not very well known, a sort of northern *terra incognita*, where mythical events were set.

This failing is arguably due to the fact that the Adriatic indeed is (excluding the Black Sea) the northernmost branch of the Mediterranean, representing an almost vertical (N–S) waterway. Stretching from the 40°16'N parallel on the Strait of Otranto to the 45°47'N parallel at Monfalcone, it links the centre of the *Mare Nostrum* with the heart of Europe. The sea is also characterized by the continuous flow of large quantities of freshwater from the rivers on the coasts (the most notable of which is the Po). Extreme latitudinal differences and the flow of freshwater resulted in a surface temperature that has an average difference of about 10 degrees from north to south, making the Adriatic warm and at the same time, particularly in its northern part when the *bora* (see later in the chapter) strikes violently, a cold sea (Cushman-Roisin et al. 2010; Poulain 2001).

It is perhaps useful at this point to dispense with the 'fictitious' oceanographic unity of the Adriatic and to start to think of this sea as a composite entity. The overall basin is actually made up of three different seas, corresponding to the three bathymetric partitions that can be recognized (Fig. 2.1). These are namely the Gulf of Venice, the shallow north-westernmost end of the sea, then the relatively deep Middle Adriatic Pit, starting from Ancona on the Italian shores and reaching to the outcrop of the Gargano promontory, and, finally, the southern Adriatic, defined by the abysmal depression of the Southern Adriatic Pit. This last, roughly round segment of the basin represents the entryway to the Adriatic and constitutes the main focus of this study.

Seascape and its effects on maritime connectivity

Ancient perceptions of the southern Adriatic were substantially different from that of the Adriatic as a whole. Indeed, the southern limit of the southern Adriatic was termed the *Ionion kolpos*. Strabo (*II*, 20) again, particularly in reference to the southern Italian shores, reminds us that the Adriatic and Ionian were essentially the same sea. Furthermore, throughout most of the Archaic period, the southern Adriatic was also known with the same name, *Ionion kolpos*, as the Ionian gulf proper (Coppola 2002; Rossignoli 2004: 304–305). The southern Adriatic was therefore perceived, at least in ancient times, but perhaps also before, as being somewhat closer to hand than the remote *Adrias kolpos*, and so acting as a liminal zone between the known and the unknown. As to whether or not the southern Adriatic was, from an Aegean/eastern Mediterranean perspective, less

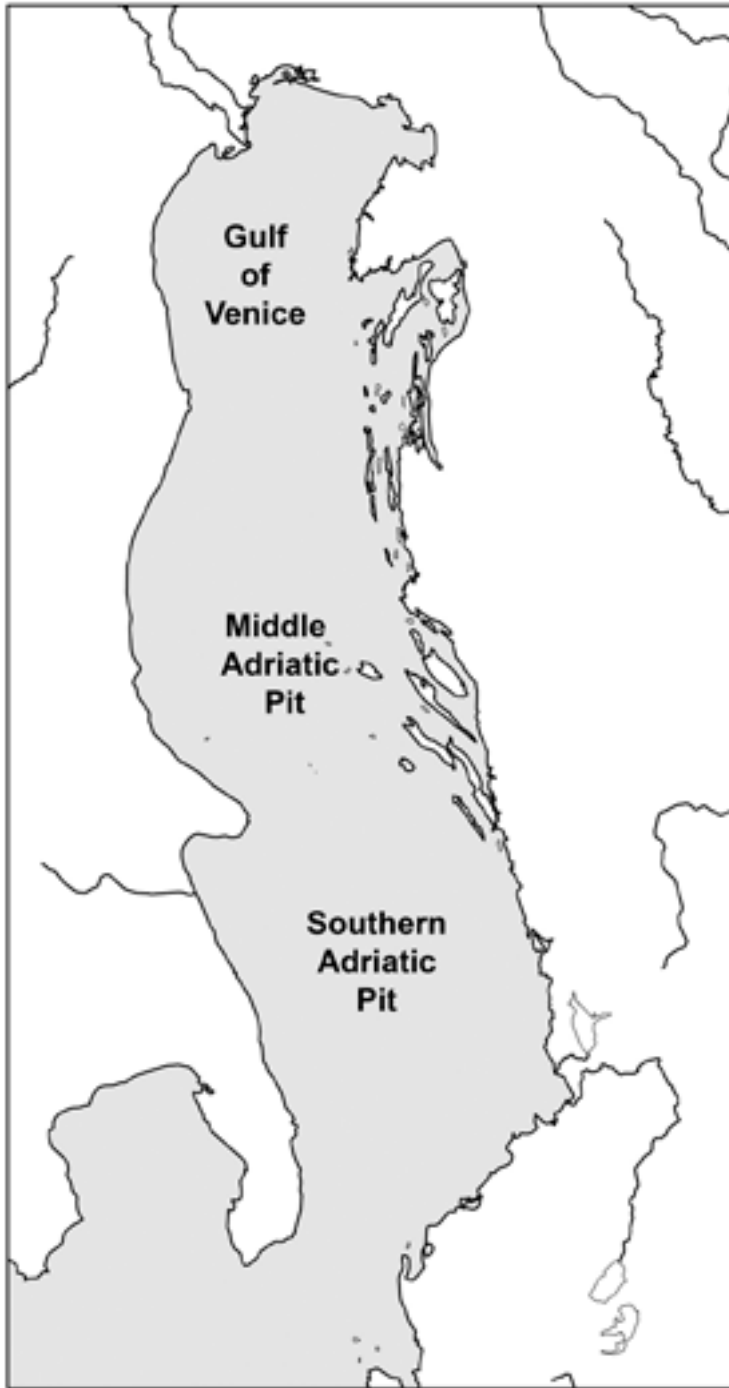


Fig. 2.1 Main divisions of the Adriatic Sea.

isolated than its northerly counterpart during the Bronze Age time frame, this is less easily demonstrable. Certainly though, as will be seen, the archaeological record strongly hints towards this conclusion for at least the LBA.

In order to obtain a more reliable assessment of the cultural geography and perception of this sea in the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) and LBA, it is useful to consider three main facets. The first is eminently 'environmental' and is constituted by the physical characteristics of this sea; the second and the third instead are inherently anthropogenic and concern features such as the particular kind of technologies available to those who frequented this sea, as well as their social contexts (what I have overall defined as Means of Interaction in the previous chapter).

So far as the first point is concerned, as already suggested, the southern Adriatic Sea represents a reasonably coherent entity, the access to which was gained through the Strait of Otranto, a narrow passage (measuring overall some 70 kilometres across) between Apulia and Albania. Both the northern and the southern limits of the southern Adriatic are marked by islands of various sizes (the Tremiti and the Adriatic Islands on the north and the northern-westernmost of the Ionian Islands on the south), which at different times were used as a bridge between the main land masses to the east and the west. Their employment thus was also favoured by the main current circulation patterns in the basin that run anticlockwise, presenting strong seasonal differences. In particular, according to measurements collected over a period of ten years, the period from the summer to the autumn is when currents are more vigorous (Poulain 2001).

The surface circulation of the currents is, however, only one aspect, an understanding of other factors is necessary in order to fully assess connectivity in the southern Adriatic. Winds are also key features, particularly in this small basin with direct contact to the open central Mediterranean. The main winds occurring here are the southeastern *sirocco*, the eastern *bora* and the northern *etesian* (comparable to the Greek *meltemi*; see Cushman-Roisin et al. 2010: 45–50). All these winds are present in the southern Adriatic at different intensities throughout the year. The *bora*, for instance, being the product of masses of air from the continent funnelled through passages in the Balkan Mountains, tends to be a rather localized cold wind that blows predominantly during the cool months, being stronger on the eastern shores and losing its intensity over the open sea. Although the *bora* is more vigorous in the upper part of the Adriatic, even in the south it can still be considered a very intense and to some extent unpredictable wind, which blows violently for very short periods. The *sirocco*, on the contrary, is a warm and moist sea wind that originates from Africa,

occurring regularly all the year round. Although not as strong as the bora, the sirocco can reach a noteworthy power and is characterized by relatively long gale events, averaging ten to twelve hours with a maximum of up to thirty-six hours. The sirocco is therefore, as far as sailing is concerned, much more 'reliable' and constant than the bora. Finally, the *etesian* winds are almost exclusively present in the lower Adriatic basin, where they represent more than half of wind activity in the summer (Cushman-Roisin et al. 2010: 49), thus also contributing consistently to sailing activity in prehistoric and ancient times (but see later in the chapter). For all these winds, the Strait of Otranto acts as a gigantic Venturi tube, concentrating air currents coming from the north as well as from the south. As a result, even a relatively mild wind such as the sirocco exiting from the strait can overcome the push of the main southwards surface current (Cushman-Roisin et al. 2010: 79, 94).

As far as landfall is concerned, major differences exist between the east and the west shores of the Adriatic. On the west, landfall is overall quite welcoming, offering a number of locations able to provide shelter (Mediterranean Pilot III 2005: 477–502; Snodgrass 2000). This is not equally true on the east where, after Kerkyra and Butrint, there are very few possibilities for docking (Mediterranean Pilot III 2005: 170). The difficulties entailed in finding shelter on the eastern shore of the southern Adriatic are also exacerbated by the irregular blowing of strong bora events, which, as mentioned, are stronger on this side of the sea (Mediterranean Pilot III 2005:175). Even the area north of the mouth of the river Vjosa, around the ancient Greek colony of Apollonia and further north until the Bay of Kotor in Montenegro, which appears nowadays as a large coastal plain, had in the past a very different, much less hospitable aspect. Much of this area has been heavily transformed through the centuries by the collective land-forming action of the numerous rivers, debouching on this side of the southern Adriatic, following a geomorphological dynamic similar to that encountered in nearby Mediterranean regions (i.e. the mouth of the Acheron River in Epirus; see Fouache 2002). As a result, it is very likely that the coastline in the Bronze Age was fundamentally different from the present: probably comprising only a narrow strip of coastal land at the feet of the mountains (Fouache 2002: 19). Such topography will have had a considerable influence not only on landfall, but also, more broadly, on human settlement. Similar land-forming phenomena are also known on the western shore (i.e. Caldara et al. 2003; Gravina et al. 2005), but are more limited in extent. This is because here most of the water is circulated beneath the land surface, being involved in karstic phenomena. So, it often becomes available for human use only closer to the coast and thus favours

human settlement there (Finocchi and Corbella 1978: 17; Selleri et al. 2002). The overall picture offered by the physical features of the sea and its interface with the land suggest that much easier access existed on the western coast of the southern Adriatic, compared with the east. The sole possible exception is the southern tip of Dalmatia that, with its archipelagos, appears more adapted to life on the waves (Snodgrass 2000).

With respect to the seafaring technologies available to people interacting in the southern Adriatic Sea in the Bronze Age, as well as the importance they had in their various social contexts, the level of documentation available, unfortunately, is enormously uneven. Much can be said on seafaring in the Aegean, but far less is known about societies inhabiting the regions facing the southern Adriatic.

In the broader central Mediterranean, the corpus of boat depictions encompasses a limited number of longboat representations from Tarxien Malta (pertaining to the third temple period, and recalling Cycladic-type examples) and Early Bronze Age (EBA) canoes incised on a vessel from Filicudi (Fig. 2.2; see Broodbank 2010; Martinelli et al. 2010, fig. 2.2). It seems difficult, however, to postulate a widespread presence of this means of transportation throughout the whole central Mediterranean. This is not to say that simple canoes were not available to people inhabiting the region, which is extremely unlikely given the proximity to the Ionian and Adriatic Sea. As convincingly shown by Broodbank (2000), the presence of longboat-like vessels, that is, counting a considerable number of rowers and able to reach a maximum distance of up to 25 kilometres per day, seems to be strongly related to peculiar social and material conditions (e.g. insularity and the maintenance of external links as an absolute necessity to cope with strict environmental limitations on island)



Fig. 2.2 EBA (long)boat representation on vessel from Filicudi.

met only at selected locations in the southern Adriatic. Such could be the case in the group of archipelagos (Sušac, Palagruža, Tremiti) normally referred to as the Adriatic Islands, which frame the northern boundary of the southern Adriatic Sea and constitute a providential bridge between the two shores of the sea, that is, between the protruding Gargano mountain (itself an island during the Palaeocene) and the Dalmatian coast with the southernmost extension of the Croatian archipelago (Forenbaher 2009). As for the Italian side, the only thing one can assert with some certainty is that, given the propensity for coastal settlements at least from the Protoapennine (i.e. Cazzella and Moscoloni 1998), it seems reasonable to suggest at the very least a good level of local knowledge of the sea and its resources (particularly those connected with coastal exploitation, such as molluscs) and as a consequence some level of seafaring activity.

The picture offered by the eastern Mediterranean evidence is very different. By the beginning of the second millennium BC, sailing, a technology arguably unknown to the west, was fairly widespread not only in the Egyptian-Levantine area, but also more specifically in an area connected with the Adriatic (i.e. the Aegean) at least since the EBA to MBA transition (Tartaron 2013: 54; Wedde 2000). This is attested by several different classes of evidence, such as boat representations on different media (ranging from pottery to clay tablets to seals) and wrecks (see Vavouranakis 2011; Wachsmann 2008; Wedde 2000). From a purely technical viewpoint, one obvious consequence that the advent of sailing and its gradual spread throughout the Mediterranean produced is likely to have been the drastic shrinkage of distances and times (Broodbank 2013: 416–417), allowing paths of interaction that would have been previously inconceivable (the same four days of paddling that allowed a longboat to reach Crete from the middle of the Cyclades was enough for a sailing ship to reach Egypt; Broodbank 2000: 345). Sailing ships, however, are not all similar, and although some early sources such as Homer report the indiscriminate use of the same ship for any purpose, actually it is very likely that there were at least two main types of ship circulating around the Mediterranean in the LBA (Tartaron 2013: 57; Wedde 1991).¹ The first, the heavily manned longship, heir to a tradition that ultimately derived from Early Cycladic longboats (Broodbank 2000), was frequently depicted on pictorial Mycenaean pottery (i.e. Dakoronia 1990). It was endowed with a large number of rowers and was probably used primarily for military purposes (Casson 1991: 27–30). The second is the merchant's rounder ship, exemplified by LBA wrecks such as those of Uluburun or the smaller one at Cape Gelidonya (measuring some

9–10 m; see Tartaron 2013: 58): these had smaller number of rowers to leave as much space as possible for the cargo, and was almost surely dedicated only to the movement of goods.

It is necessary here to point out that sailing in late prehistoric and ancient times entailed a number of fundamental technical limitations, mainly related to weather and winds, which were highlighted by early Greek writers such as Hesiod (*Hes. Op.* 618–94; see also Casson 1995: 270–278; Rosen 1990). However, on a practical level, the reconstruction of Adriatic seafaring should not be too much influenced by these aspects since, as has been made clear earlier, the variety of winds blowing in the southern Adriatic would have allowed sailors the possibility of reaching almost any destination in the area in a relatively short amount of time. In addition, it should be noted that the only true sea-crossing really encountered in navigating in the southern Adriatic is the Strait of Otranto which, although relatively difficult, is short enough not to create any real challenge, even to sailors not accustomed to the open sea. The only significant limitation to ancient seafaring, which is still widely considered important, is the sailing season. Despite the suggestion that the cool season did not constitute an insurmountable limit to sailing activity (Tammuz 2005), it is nevertheless true that there *are* plenty of hints which suggest, directly and indirectly, the general validity of this view (Tartaron 2013: 103–104). At a broader interpretative level, other scholars have also pointed out the ideological underpinnings which informed Hesiod's work, thereby suggesting that perhaps his restricted vision of overseas trade and maritime activity was a literary 'pose', motivated by the moral requirements of the cultural background of his audience (Sherratt and Sherratt 1998).

This consideration leads us to the last aspect which is necessary to take into consideration in order to assess the Means of Interaction of societies intermingling in the Adriatic, namely the social perception accorded to seafaring and overseas trade. A fundamental variable is constituted by the different levels and nature of capital required by different kinds of seafaring (Broodbank 2010). The paddled vessel (simple canoe or the fast longboat) necessitated primarily a political/social surplus, or in other words directly exploited labour (i.e. people willing to row). The introduction of sailing, instead, while shrinking enormously the maritime 'cosmos', entailed substantial investments. Sailing required large amounts of capital in advance to be put into the construction of the craft itself, particularly for acquiring raw materials that were not necessarily readily available locally.² This requirement in turn means that in order to practise sailing, a society would have needed up front sufficient

concentrations of surplus that were likely to take the form of various kind of goods, rather than simply manpower. From this follows the broad chronological correlation between the increase of social complexity and (mostly material) capital accumulation and the diffusion of sailing noted by Broodbank (2010), and, in this respect, it is probably true that the capital investment required for a sailing craft constituted a sort of socio-economic threshold.

It has been suggested in the previous chapter that mercantile (often seaborne) activity was a very common characteristic of Tributary Modes of Production, such as the Minoan/Mycenaean polities. Considering also the likelihood of seaborne distribution for much of the traded material, it can be reasonably surmised that sailing played an important role within Aegean societies. There are some hints in the Linear B record relating to a possible direct palatial involvement in seafaring (i.e. rowers from Pylos; see Palaima 1991; Wachsmann 1999), but, overall, the written record from the Aegean regarding this topic is remarkably poor. The picture that it is possible to infer from the observation of coeval tributary societies in the ancient Near East, however, is much more detailed. At Ugarit, for instance, there is clear evidence that seaborne trade was practised in three different forms, namely with the direct involvement of states, by private individuals without the direct involvement of the king, and with a mixed system which entailed a joint venture between merchants and the king (Monroe 2009: 270–272; although even private merchants were considered ‘men of the king’, that is, royal dependants and not ‘free men’; see Heltzer 1978: 123; Liverani 2003: 120; *contra* Monroe 2009: 267–268). In the Hittite empire instead, much of the commercial activity, and above all that which was seaborne, was in the hands of foreign intermediaries (primarily from the city Ura), who acted as agents of the Great King and, as such, enjoyed particular protection (Bryce 2002: 87–97).

Whether or not Aegean overseas trade constituted an articulated sector of the economy, either in the palace or in the private sector, in the same way as in the aforementioned examples, it is impossible to say purely on the basis of the Linear B record. Sherratt (1999) proposed that maritime trade of particular classes of materials (namely, pottery) was conducted alongside the royal gift exchange of prestige goods and raw materials. She further theorized that pottery and its contents (the chief evidence of interaction in the Adriatic) were traded directly by merchants and sailors, bypassing the control of palatial authority. This suggestion was based on the fact that royal gift exchange, as reported in documents such as the Amarna Letters (see Moran 1992), never entailed low-value items such as pottery. The model is undoubtedly attractive, although in

the absence of any direct 'palatial' record concerning maritime trade it can be considered only as tentative.

Landscapes and overland movement

Even though the sea itself is of critical importance for this study, this fact does not necessarily imply that forms of connectivity other than the seaborne did not play critical roles in shaping human interaction in the Adriatic region. Indeed, it seems almost unnecessary to comment on the importance of overland movement, since we are all bipedal terrestrial animals and this constituted the most ancient and natural way of getting around for any human society. This is not to assert an *a priori* primacy of land over sea, but rather to stress that any assessment of interaction, particularly at the short and medium ranges, cannot avoid considering the terrestrial domain. Here again, as with maritime connectivity, it will be necessary to discuss this topic on three fronts: (1) the physical space that was crossed, in all its facets, (2) the 'tools' that were available to Adriatic societies in order to cross this space (i.e. various kinds of traction and pack animals), an aspect which is intimately and deeply interwoven with (3) the social significance that terrestrial mobility had in the particular *milieux* under study.

Unlike the eastern side of the southern Adriatic, which is dominated by the rugged profile of the Dinaric Alps, it is lowland and plains that characterize the overwhelming majority of Apulia, a large low-lying calcareous platform (Ricchetti and Pieri 1999). The Gargano in the north is the only mountainous formation on the Italian side of the southern Adriatic, a 1,000-metre high mountain that rises above an otherwise almost completely flat coastline. Only minor elevations are attested elsewhere in Apulia (the Murge area in the centre and the Serre in the south), but they are nowise comparable to the Gargano.

As for flora and vegetation, during the Bronze Age, differences between the mountainous and low areas were likely to have been present, although perhaps less substantially so than they appear today. Pollen analyses from two lakes in Apulia (Caroli and Caldara 2007; Di Rita and Magri 2009; Primavera et al. 2017) indicate extensive deforestation during the first half of the second millennium BC. Other kinds of paleo-environmental studies (based on charcoal remains from archaeological deposits), however, argue that at least forest species such as oaks were widely available to people living in Bronze Age settlements on the southern Adriatic coast of Italy, with some fluctuations in the range of species attested towards the spectrum of the typical Mediterranean *maquis* (see Blondel

et al. 2010: 112–120; Fiorentino 2010; Primavera et al. 2017). Wooded areas were therefore also distributed in the coastal areas of Apulia: something seemingly confirmed also by the incidence of deer bones, a woodland species, in faunal assemblages (De Grossi-Mazzorin 2010; Wilkens 1998).

A last important biome typical of the southern Adriatic region is marshland (Horden and Purcell 2000: 186–190), normally located in direct contact with the sea, such as the wide lagoon once extending from the mouth of the Candelaro to the Ofanto River near the Gargano (see Boenzi et al. 1991). The potential of these environments in terms of the range of resources available has probably greatly encouraged human exploitation since at least Neolithic times. In the case of coastal locations, it is possible to argue that an attractive factor was proffered by nutritional resources such as molluscs, which in the Bronze Age though were also used for non-alimentary purposes (i.e. purple dye production; see Section ‘The Middle Bronze Age Adriatic society and its connections: Modes of Production and Interaction’ and Cazzella et al. 2005).

The environmental patchwork that it is possible to recognize in the southern Adriatic area probably constituted a powerful incentive for human interactions. Indeed, the complementarity of the various economic resources available in these different zones is likely to have fashioned a broad range of exchanges, as suggested by Horden and Purcell (2000: 220–224). Additionally, as far as mountains and valleys are concerned, one should remember that living in these locations often entailed the undertaking of relatively short-range trips connected with animal husbandry and herding (transhumance). In Bronze Age settlements close to the Gargano, such as Coppa Nevigata, species suitable for herding are attested since the Neolithic (Bökönyi and Siracusano 1987; Siracusano 1991, 1993), thus suggesting the existence, at least by the Bronze Age, of a deep knowledge of animal husbandry and of the exploitation of their secondary products (Barker 2005: 57; Halstead and Isaakidou 2011; Sherratt 1983; Wilkens 1998: 230).

Overland movements in the southern Adriatic were probably facilitated, at least occasionally, by the use of animals. Some suitable species such as the horse are indeed attested in faunal assemblages from Italy by the Copper Age and their relative frequency seems to increase considerably in the MBA (De Grossi-Mazzorin 1992; De Grossi-Mazzorin and Santella 2006). These animals were probably not used for food, but rather for traction or for riding (although regarding this last activity, we possess little iconographic evidence until the Iron Age, that is, on the Daunian Stele; see De Grossi-Mazzorin et al. 1998: 87; Nava 1988). The most unambiguous evidence related to horse riding has been provided by analyses carried out on human remains from Toppo Daguzzo in

western Basilicata, which revealed the existence of stress damage to the skeleton compatible with such activities (Canci 1998). Horses need not be considered as the only available option for Bronze Age inhabitants of the Adriatic region as traction animals: oxen may have constituted a feasible alternative. The remains of cattle are widely attested, and, occasionally, this animal seems to have been charged with symbolic significance, as seen for instance by the incorporation of bovine horns in the decoration of pottery and metalwork during the LBA. Finally, among pack animals, the donkey undoubtedly deserves special attention. It has a long history in Egypt and the Near East, but is not native to the Adriatic lands. The animal is first attested in the central Mediterranean in the faunal assemblage of Coppa Nevigata, but only in the LBA. Its introduction, occurring at a time when long-range interaction was well attested, is likely to have been related to contact with the Aegean world (Blake 2014: 62–63; Bökönyi and Siracusano 1987; Clutton-Brock 1987: 122–127).

Lastly, on the matter of the social significance of overland interaction, there are some important remarks that need to be made. First, it is possible to note a fundamental and qualitative difference from maritime interaction. While seaborne movement can be effective over any distance, it is arguable that the same does not apply to terrestrial movement, which is extremely time-consuming over the long range. On the positive side, however, movement over land for a relatively short distance at a slow pace does not necessarily require the same amount of capital investment as sea-related activities. It can be made by almost any healthy member or group within a community. It is therefore arguable that overland mobility was very important for the short- and medium-range activities, being indeed crucial for carrying out frequent off-site activities. These last can be the exchange of primary foodstuffs over relatively short distances, as well as more communally embedded forms of economic and social transactions, such as those related to gift-giving and dowry payments between relatively close communities.

Approaches to Adriatic connectivity

Since the second half of the last century, there has been plenty of work carried out dealing with interaction in the LBA. This interest was made feasible by the amount of archaeological exploration in the area during previous decades, which subsequently made available to scholars a relatively large body of material (Bettelli 2002). Traditionally, the Adriatic area was treated jointly with the whole

of southern Italy. This is because for a great part of the last century most of the archaeologists working in the region were trained as classicists, and trans-Adriatic interaction was often studied, in a rather teleological perspective, as the precursor of Greek colonization, a conceptual framework that was to last long in the literature. Predictably, because of the level of available knowledge concerning Mycenaean pottery in Greece as well as in the wider eastern Mediterranean, the attention of scholars was primarily focused on this class of material. As a consequence, the study of interaction in the area by and large came to correspond to the study of Mycenaean pottery. This does look remarkably different from local handmade *Impasto* traditions; from a purely technological perspective, the two are the end result of a number of very different production choices. While *Impasto* is normally formed by hand with coarse clays and fired at a low temperature (rarely more than 800 degrees Celsius; see Levi 1999), Mycenaean pottery is instead made with levigated clays, wheel-thrown and fired in a kiln at higher temperatures and in which the fuel is separated from the vessels (Fig. 2.3).

The earliest treatment of Mycenaean pottery in southern Italy is Taylour's (1958) pioneering work. The level of exploration of the southern Adriatic at the time of this study, however, was extremely limited, thus preventing Taylour from giving the area much consideration. Presenting the material from a number of key southern Italian sites known at the time, Taylour interpreted the evidence as revealing the patterns of commercial expansion and the retreat of 'Mycenaeans' towards the west (Taylour 1958: 181–190). Already at this early stage of research, Taylour suggested local production for part of this pottery, hypothesizing at the same time the existence of Mycenaean colonies, for instance, at the important site of Scoglio del Tonno. The existence of Mycenaean colonies was also endorsed



Fig. 2.3 (a) *Impasto* pottery from Apulia and (b) Aegean type pottery.

by Biancofiore (1967), whose study featured some of the earliest chemical analyses on Mycenaean pottery from the area and stressed the eastern Aegean connections recognizable in the evidence (some of which were later confirmed by provenance analyses; see Vagnetti et al. 2009: 177–178).

As the level of exploration increased in the later twentieth century, more fine-grained archaeological analyses became possible. Vagnetti (1982) was able to present an overview of Aegean-type material found in Italy, producing for the first time distribution maps specific to each period, a feature that allowed diachronic comparison of the spatial patterning of the evidence. Again, due to the increase in the amount of evidence available, the possibility emerged for distinguishing between sites that differed in importance with respect to Mycenaean interaction. Some sites after extensive research revealed only a limited amount of Aegean-type pottery (such as, for instance, Luni sul Mignone in central Italy; see Östenberg 1967), while others, even if hastily explored, yielded extensive amounts, documenting a privileged relationship with the Aegean and the broader eastern Mediterranean (Iacono 2017).

In terms of field research, the 1980s and the 1990s were characterized by investigations carried out in the Sybaris area and in particular at the site of Broglio di Trebisacce. The important results revealed by this Calabrian site, which became one of the key contexts for the Bronze and Iron Ages of southern Italy (Peroni and Trucco 1994; Peroni and Vanzetti 1998), were to keep the focus of Italian proto-historians on the western Ionian Sea, neglecting to a large extent the southern Adriatic, whose only main site intensely investigated during this period was Coppa Nevigata (Cassano et al. 1987; Cazzella et al. 2012). Therefore, despite the increase of general understanding, a full appreciation of interaction in the southern Adriatic remained elusive and was severely hampered by the relative lack of exploration (particularly of the southern part of the area), and by the apparent lack of important sites such as those attested on the Aeolian Islands, as well as in the Ionian arc. This lacuna was not filled until recent times with the appearance of the first results regarding Roca (Guglielmino 1996, 2005; Pagliara et al. 2007, 2008).

This situation is reflected in one of the few exhaustive works dealing with Mycenaean pottery in Apulia (Fisher 1988), in which the similarities between local Mycenaean pottery and products from Achaea is noted for the first time, but that, again, is primarily based on evidence from the Ionian side of the region, above all from Scoglio del Tonno. The 1980s and the 1990s marked the beginning of an important research project whose aim was to obtain the first systematic provenance analyses of Mycenaean pottery found in the central Mediterranean:

this has been recently concluded. According to these analyses, a large portion of this class of material was shown to be locally made, thus fundamentally confirming Taylour's prophetic view (Jones et al. 2014). This fact has led to a radical shift in the terminology adopted, and Mycenaean pottery has been replaced with the term 'Aegean-type' (e.g. Vianello 2005), or Italo-Mycenaean (Blake 2014; Saltini Semerari 2016). Additionally, in-depth analysis of regional patterns of production and consumption has allowed a more fine-grained understanding of possible social processes behind the use of painted fine wares.

All of the approaches described so far are characterized by an underlying framework inspired by functionalism, attributing a driving role to the quest of metal as an explanation for long-range contacts in the central Mediterranean. Furthermore, since in general terms the interest of scholars was mainly catalysed by Aegean-type pottery, issues relating to the social impact of interaction, which could have been addressed only via a comparative contextual assessment of different classes of evidence, were largely overlooked.

Some relevant exceptions, however, exist to this general trend, mostly coming from scholars trained as Italian prehistorians. For instance, already in the 1960s, Peroni (1969) had tried to highlight issues relating to social change brought about by interaction with the Aegean, aided by a theoretical framework inspired by Marxism (Peroni 1996; Cardarelli 2015) that was curiously close to later World Systems Theory, an approach that he has fiercely criticized in more recent times (i.e. Peroni in Cocchi Genick 2004b: 17–20; on such approach, see also Marazzi 1988). The importance of the role of local communities started to come to the fore with the work of Bietti Sestieri (1988), who tried to distinguish between different models of interaction in the central Mediterranean area.³ It is however not until the work of Bettelli (2002) that the local role in interaction started to be brought to the fore, with the first typological analysis of the interplay between local and Aegean-type pottery production.

Contextual analysis and the social relevance of the consumed imported/ imitated materials has been a tool used by Van Wijngaarden (2002), who suggests a distinct role for imported Aegean-type materials. Likewise, Vianello's (2005) comprehensive survey, although focusing on the large scale, attempts at providing systematic comparison of consumption patterns.

Reasserting local creativity and appreciating the independence of social and cultural trajectories has been one of the central tenets of a number of recent attempts (Blake 2008; Russell and Knapp 2017, Russell 2010, 2017). These are undoubtedly important tasks as they counteract traditional (and still ubiquitous) *ex-orientis lux* narratives where Westerners are seen exclusively as

passive adopters of Eastern innovations. Yet, if we want to seriously bring into play local agencies, we need to think at the very articulation of the social fabric in which they are embedded. Central Mediterranean societies (like any other) were certainly autonomous, but equally were not beyond the possibility of being influenced. This factor has also been finally recognized by Blake (2014), who has recently spoken of the considerable effects of interaction with the Aegean world. However, some of these recent views (e.g. Russell and Knapp 2017: 23) uncouple consumption (in their view, central for the analysis) from production (considered somewhat marginal), creating a false dichotomy that fits descriptions of current global capitalism more than those applicable to ancient social realities. In a similar vein, Molloy (2016) also somewhat underplays the importance of directionality in the phenomena observed in what we can define as the LBA Adriatic connection (inclusive of parallel phenomena in the post-palatial Aegean; see Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age' on this). Rejecting traditional archaeological labels that emphasized the Western origin of this influence in artefacts, he prefers the use of more neutral terms, like 'entangled'. This however runs the risk of obscuring to some extent the power dynamics which underlie the logic of the encounters discussed in the previous chapter (Iacono 2013).

Shifting the attention to the Central Mediterranean, production forms the main focus of much recent research. The reassessment by Cazzella and Recchia (2009) pulls together a large variety of evidence related to aspects as different as olive oil production, purple dyeing, defensive architecture and more. The picture to emerge from this appears to be much more varied than that based on the analysis of the ceramic record alone, rightly stressing the role of local exchange networks and reassessing the importance of connections predating the bulk of the Aegean interaction in the central Mediterranean as a key element in understanding later developments. This insight will constitute an important starting point of the next section, where pre-Aegean interactions will be considered.

Production of both ceramics and metallurgy has also been at the centre of the work of Reinhard Jung that, drawing upon seminal work of an earlier generation of scholars (e.g. Bouzek 1985; Harding 1984; Kilian 1983), updated the chronological backbone of the Adriatic connections (Jung 2006). His subsequent programme of material analyses of metal artefacts undertaken in collaboration with Mattias Mehofer has noticeably increased our understanding of the dynamics connected with the circulation of prototypes and copies in LBA metallurgy between Italy and the Aegean (Jung and Mehofer 2013). Metallurgy is also at the centre of work by Borgna (2013), who has also focused on consumption patterns vis-à-vis

the macro-societal modification occurring throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean and stressing the possible role of Cyprus (see Chapter 5 on this).

Employing a quite contrasting word choice, Saltini Semerari (2016) focuses on late-LBA connections between southern Italy (with a specific attention to Apulia) and the Aegean, terming them *disentangled*. Even if discussed in terms of ‘fashion’ and through the usual common-sense social categories such as ‘élites’, as we will see, the pattern of a gradual diminution of interaction that Saltini Semerari discusses is undoubtedly real.

In order to fully understand its social significance, however, it will be necessary to follow the threads that connect the Adriatic to the rest of the Middle Sea, addressing the way in which the physicality of space both empowers and constrains connections and movement, through time, commencing much before the LBA.

The prelude to Late Bronze Age interaction

Neolithic

The spread of the Neolithic way of life can be considered one of the earliest and most important forms of interaction that took place in the southern Adriatic, as well as one with undoubted long-lasting effects. The western coast and most of the eastern of the Adriatic Sea during the sixth millennium BC were part of the same cultural milieu, corresponding to the so-called Impressed Ware horizon (Pessina and Tinè 2008). Only Albania, already at this early stage, seems to present distinctive characteristics (i.e. painted pottery at EN Podgorie and Vashtemi; see Allen and Gjipali 2014), while the south Ionian Islands such as Kerkyra represented a *trait d’union* between the Balkan-Anatolian tradition of monochrome pottery and the general pattern of the whole Adriatic area (both pottery traditions are attested in different strata at Sidari; see Guilaine 2007; Pessina and Tinè 2008: 28). The networks of these Neolithic connections, as well as probably most of those of the Copper Age, were arguably much looser than later Bronze Age ones, as they were probably the outcome of a series of interconnected down-the-line links (Maran 1998; Renfrew 1975). Despite these shortcomings, using fine-grained typological distinctions, scholars from both sides of the Adriatic have been able to identify patterns of contact that span the whole Neolithic period (i.e. Cazzella 2003; Radič 2009).

These started in the Early Neolithic, when it is possible to recognize the abundance of early impressed pottery (*Impressa di tipo arcaico* or A; see Müller

1988; Tiné 2002) on the Adriatic Islands of Sušac and, to a minor extent, on Palagruža (Forenbaher 2009, 2018; Radič 2009). As suggested by Forenbaher (2008), occupation of remote Adriatic Islands (in particular Palagruža, which lies some 45 kilometres away from the closest land mass) does not make much sense in terms of the exploitation of primary agricultural resources, and the main attraction of such a location would be deep-sea fishing, a capital-intensive activity, arguably not accessible to the first Neolithic communities. As a consequence, two main options remain to explain the earliest archaeological record in the Adriatic Islands. The first is that their frequentation (and particularly that of Palagruža) represents a by-product of Neolithization and community expansion in search of new land to farm. If this was the case, then, as suggested by Forenbaher (2008), the length of island occupation should be directly proportional to the amount of arable land available on each island, as this would allow to accommodate the needs of a community growing in size over time. In support of this proposal, as regards the evidence from Palagruža, one of the smallest Adriatic Islands, it is interesting to note that (a) the Early Neolithic record here is very poor, indicating perhaps a visitation that was not prolonged in time, and (b) contrary to what happened, for instance, on the less remote Sušac, there is no Middle or Late Neolithic on the island, which was left unoccupied for a few millennia.

The second hypothesis is that, already at this early stage, visitation dynamics on the Adriatic Islands were driven by the desire of Neolithic communities on the western and eastern shores of the Adriatic to engage in exchange networks. These certainly entailed the arrival of high-quality flint from Gargano, as well as, probably, other goods less easily recognizable in the archaeological record (see Forenbaher and Perhoč 2018). That lithics were an important component of these relations seems also to be suggested by the diffusion in Dalmatia of Campignan axes as well as of Sipontine blades (a lithic industry characterized by points and steep lateral retouch), which are distributed to sites as far away as Coppa Nevigata (in Apulia), Vela spilja and Sušac (in Croatia; see Radič 2009: 20). As has been seen, both hypotheses have something to support them. They might have actually constituted two succeeding steps within the same process that from the earliest occasional contact gradually led to a more frequent interaction between the two shores of the southern Adriatic.

Coming back to the more general picture, another interesting commonality now between the western and eastern shores of the Adriatic is represented by the early adoption of the two-ware system in the Early Neolithic (Robb 2007: 163–166), characterized by coarse and fine wares. In our specific case, the fine ware is *Impressa C o evoluta* pottery (Tiné 2002), which is attested in a large

area ranging from Bosnia to Apulia. A subgroup within this larger category, the so-called Guandone style, has a more restricted circulation within the Adriatic region (Radić 2009; Spataro 2002).

The Middle Neolithic marks the introduction in most of the Adriatic area (excluding Albania) of an important 'eastern' technological innovation, that is, painted pottery. Local production has always been suggested for the coarse segment of Early and Middle Neolithic pottery, whereas for *figulina* (i.e. fine pottery often painted in Serra d'Alto style), a regional, perhaps centralized, production has been postulated (Spataro 2002, 2009). On purely stylistic grounds, Radić (2009) has suggested that many of the painted vessels identified in northern Dalmatia, as well as in Bosnia, were of Italian manufacture. The Apennine Ripoli style is particularly relevant here, as many sherds belonging to this group (particularly boiler lids; see Cazzella 2000) have been identified in the area of the Danilo culture on the eastern coast. The same Ripoli style presents important linkages with the pottery production of phase IIa of the site of Maliq in southeastern Albania (Cazzella 2003; Radić 2009).

The beginning of the Late Neolithic marks a certain decrease in the amount of connectivity in the Adriatic area, although a generic connection can still be recognized in the attestation of grooved decoration on the ceramics of Piano Conte (Italy), Proto-Novokan (Dalmatia) and Maliq IIB 9 (see Forenbahe 2000; Korkuti 2010), a specific instance of a wide phenomenon diffused through the whole Balkans (Cazzella 2003). The end of the Late Neolithic also saw the almost complete abandonment of all offshore Adriatic Islands that, with the sole exception of the Palagruža archipelago (see later in the chapter), will not be occupied again until historical times (Forenbahe 2018: 111).

A last piece in the puzzle of Neolithic interaction is represented by obsidian. Its introduction in the Adriatic area represents an important innovation, opening the southern Adriatic to one of the most important exchange networks of the time. According to provenance analyses, the source of the obsidian recovered in the Adriatic area (on both sides) is almost invariably Lipari (Tykot 1996, 2011, with only some episodic attestation of Sardinian obsidian; see Acquafredda and Muntoni 2008). Interestingly, no Carpathian obsidian seems to travel to the other side of the Adriatic.

All in all, then, Neolithic interaction seems to have been episodic and not intense. Identifying individual 'cultural actors' is definitely problematic. A diffuse mutual cultural influence ranged, at different levels of intensity, and expressed through a number of different media over a period of time some three millennia

long. Generally, it corresponds to a limited volume of contact. This situation is, in fact, quite understandable, considering the relatively small scale of the communities involved in those interactions (Robb 2007: 40–42). This aspect of size, in turn, hampered the start of surplus accumulation and the possibility for members of such communities to invest their surplus in the improvement of Means of Interaction (see Chapter 1).

Naturally enough, there are some deviations from the pattern of small communities, such as some of the ditched sites of the Tavoliere in northern Apulia. It is estimated that the site of Passo di Corvo, which is about 28 hectares, might have had a population between 180 and 330 people (Tine 1983). However, the development of large villages such as Passo di Corvo constitutes a very anomalous and relatively late exception. Most of the ditched sites of the Tavoliere, indeed, measured only between 1 and 4 hectares (see Fig. 2.4). Moreover, their ‘inland’ nature also acted as a powerful obstacle to the development of maritime activities (Brown 1991; Malone 2003: 253–254). Demographic considerations aside, there are also other major factors that prevented Neolithic Adriatic societies

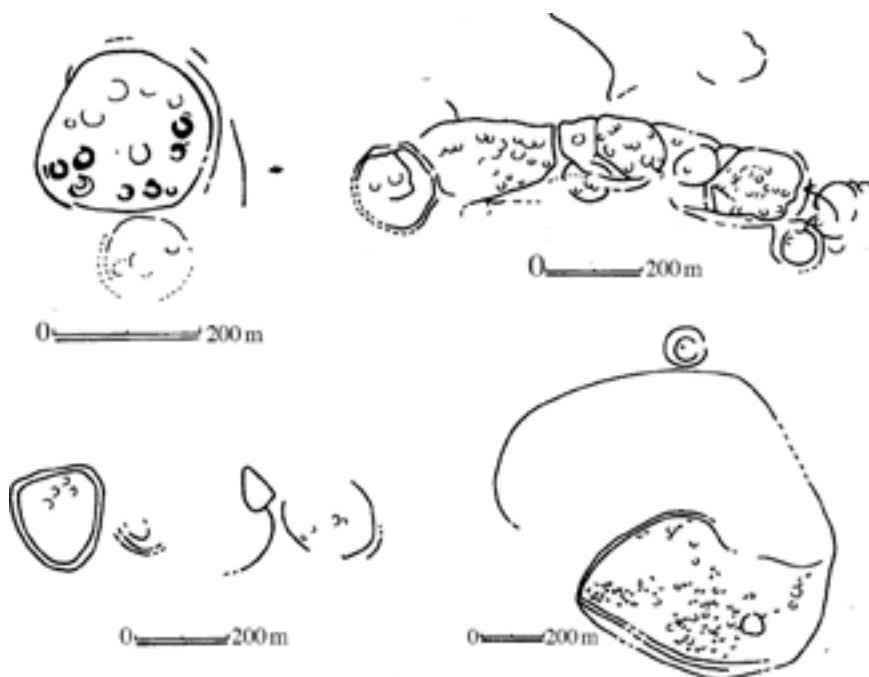


Fig. 2.4 A selection of plans of ditched Neolithic sites (or ‘villaggi trincerati’) of the Tavoliere: (1) La Panetteria, Lucera; (2) Tavernola, Scaramella di San Vito; (3) Marana di Fontanafigura, Cerignola; (4) Passo di Corvo, Amendola.

from producing more intensive connections with the other side of the sea. The most important of these is probably the lack of a suitable maritime technology. Indeed, although undoubtedly harvesting the sea's resources was an important part of the life of those inhabiting the coast (Farr and Robb 2005: 25–27), it is extremely likely that the only kind of vessel available to Adriatic populations was the simple canoe, not unlike the one recovered at the site of La Marmotta on the Bracciano Lake in central Italy (Robb 2007: 267). This assertion is grounded not only in the fact that canoes are some of the simplest possible means of maritime transport, but also in the lack of any hint at this stage, either iconographic or indirect/social, pointing to the use of the more powerful longboat (see Section 'The southern Adriatic: Sea, land and Means of Interaction'). To this extent, and considering the important role played by the natural stepping stones of the Adriatic Islands, it is particularly fruitful to examine the map in Fig. 2.7. The shaded circles around the Adriatic Islands correspond to the distance that can be covered in one day of travel with the help of these early vessels (according to ethnographic data synthesized by Broodbank 2000: 102). Bringing to a safe and successful conclusion any travel from one side to the other of the Adriatic, even stopping by night at intervening islands, must have been no holiday, but an exhausting and risky voyage to be undertaken only in exceptional circumstances.

Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age

The third millennium BC represents a period of considerable increase in interaction around the Adriatic area. This phenomenon is part of a broader pan-Mediterranean pattern that is now starting to be recognized (Broodbank 2010; Maran 1998). In the Adriatic, the important tumuli of Velika and Mala Gruda in the Kotor bay of Montenegro are dated to the first half of this millennium. Here among the grave goods can be recognized a number of golden spiral ornaments of Balkan type, which have clear parallels in the finds of the R-graves on the Ionian Island of Lefkas (Dörpfeld 1927; Primas 1996). Also, a golden dagger of Anatolian type (found at Mala Gruda) suggests the existence of long-range connections involving the exchange of new and highly symbolic categories of items, such as bodily ornaments and weapons with a strong personal connotation (Maran 1998, 2007), realized in valuable raw materials. The central role of the individual in the ritual seems to be confirmed by the fact that these items were associated with single central burials within the mound (which at least in the case of Velika Gruda was certainly male; see Maran 1998: 434–435; Primas 1996: 25).

In approximately the same period, Apulia, and particularly the southern tip of it, namely the Salento peninsula, was at the centre of a series of relations that connected the region to the other coasts of the Adriatic and to the rest of southern Italy. A group of tumuli located around the modern village of Salve represents the earliest attestation in the region of this kind of burial, well recorded in the Balkans. Interestingly, among the grave goods recorded at the site, many belonged to the Campanian Gaudio culture, previously unattested in this part of Italy. Together with the 'usual' inhumations, the mound contained one of the earliest examples of cremation in the central Mediterranean (Aprile et al. 2018; Ingravallo et al. 2007, 2010; Pacciarelli et al. 2015). Although, as admitted by the excavators, it is difficult to assess, on the basis of such a small sample, whether the presence of more than one funerary ritual at Salve marked the existence of incipient societal differentiation, an expensive ritual such as cremation involving the investment of considerable resources in terms of fuel needed for burning the body, opens up intriguing questions regarding the nature of Copper Age societies in southern Italy.

Important in their own terms, early Copper Age links are dwarfed when compared to those attested during the second half of the third millennium and particularly in its last couple of centuries (Maran 1998, 2007). Indeed, as suggested by many scholars, this period is characterized by a sudden enhancement in the scale and intensity of interaction over a broader Mediterranean level, as well as, and more specifically, in the Adriatic area (Broodbank 2010). One of the main focal points of this interaction is situated on the eastern side of the Adriatic, in the area of the so-called Cetina phenomenon (Galaty et al. 2014). This archaeological complex possibly emerged from the preceding Ljubljana background around the middle of the third millennium BC: it is noted for its ability to partake in exchange networks in the Adriatic area. The original extent of the Cetina occurrence is debated, it either encompassed all the eastern Adriatic coast from just south of Trieste down to northern Albania or, as suggested by Govedarica (1989), was located mainly in southern Dalmatia, as well as appearing in Serbia and Bosnia, with finds in the northern Adriatic constituting of only sporadic outliers (Cazzella 2003; Govedarica 1989; Gori 2019; Kaiser and Forenbaher 1999; Maran 1998; Radič 2009). Cetina finds have been retrieved over a vast area (Fig. 2.5). According to the most widespread opinion (Kaiser and Forenbaher 1999; Rambach 2004; Recchia 2010b; based on Godevarica 1989), it is tentatively possible to identify two main phases within this general pattern of contact.



Fig. 2.5 Distribution map of the Cetina culture (shaded area) and related pottery groups in West Serbia and East Bosnia, the Caput Adriae, Southern Italy, the Maltese Islands, and Greece. (1) Ražana; (2) Rusanovici; (3) Vrlazje; (4) Grotta dei Ciclami; (5) Rodi Garganico; (6) Laterza; (7) Rutigliano-Le Renè; (8) Grotta prima del Pulo near Altamura, Tomba Casal Sabini; (9) Ognina; (10) Borg in-Nadur; (11) Tarxien; (12) Ognina; (13) Olympia; (14) Asea; (15) Lerna; (16) Tiryns; (17) Prosymna; (18) Tsoungiza; (19) Zygouries; (20) Korakou; (21) Kolonna; (22) Ajia Marina; (23) Atena Lucana; (24) Gricignano; (25) Coppa Navigata; (26) Fonti S. Callisto; (27) Popoli; (28) Navelli; (29) Pisciuolo; (30) Pulo; (31) Mass. Fontanarosa; (32) Moncodonja.

The first period will correspond to the Early Cetina period (Govedarica 1989; Kaiser and Forenbaher 1999), dating to the beginning of the second half of the third millennium BC. It is characterized by the distribution of bowls with internally thickened rims and incised decoration. These bowls have been recovered at a number of sites all over the Mediterranean from Troy to Emporio, to Sitagroi and to the south in the Peloponnese (among others, Olympia and Lerna; see Rambach 2007), although it is a bit imprudent, however, to load a simple morphological feature with too much cultural emphasis (Cazzella et al. 2007). The central Mediterranean, and more specifically the Adriatic (broadly speaking, but with a more limited attestation also on Malta), constituted the main zone of interaction. Pottery belonging to the Early Cetina phase has been uncovered in many Italian sites in northern-central Apulia, as well as northwards in Abruzzo (Gravina 2016; Recchia 2010b: 104; see Fig. 2.5).

In the following phase, corresponding to the Classic Cetina period (Govedarica 1989) and dating to the last centuries of the third millennium BC, but potentially continuing well into the first two centuries of the second millennium BC (Olujic 2012), Cetina pottery is documented in a variety of shapes, among which the most characteristic are one-handed beakers and (somewhat rare but visually distinctive) pedestaled bowls. Find-spots also extend into Campania (e.g. Atena Lucana near Salerno and Gricignano near Naples), as well as continental Greece (Maran 2007; Rambach 2007; Rutter 1982). One of the core areas for these finds is in Apulia, where Cetina finds are quite abundant, encompassing both settlement (i.e. Rene di Rutigliano; see Radina 1989) and burial assemblages (i.e. Laterza, Casal Sabini and others; see Fig. 2.6 and Cataldo 1996). An even wider distribution also covering the eastern Mediterranean from Troy to Castelluccio is recorded for the puzzling bossed bone plaques, which are associated with Cetina material in at least one context (i.e. the Casal Sabini tomb), and whose only exemplar for which we possess a radiocarbon date is from Lerna IV – to be placed in the Classic Cetina horizon (Cataldo 1996; Maran 2007).

It has been suggested in the past that the spread of Cetina elements to the west was balanced on the eastern side by the arrival of Early Bronze weapons, in particular daggers of Italian type, in Dalmatia, as well as at locales as far south as Vajza in Albania (Peroni 1996: 116–118). These associations have been criticized by Della Casa (1995), according to whom Cetina is a purely Copper Age culture (i.e. it does not continue into the EBA) and characterized by a close relationship with the Bell Beaker phenomenon. Furthermore, Della Casa contests the cultural and contextual homogeneity of some of the more significant Proto/Early- and Classic Cetina assemblages, suggesting that many of them are made up from

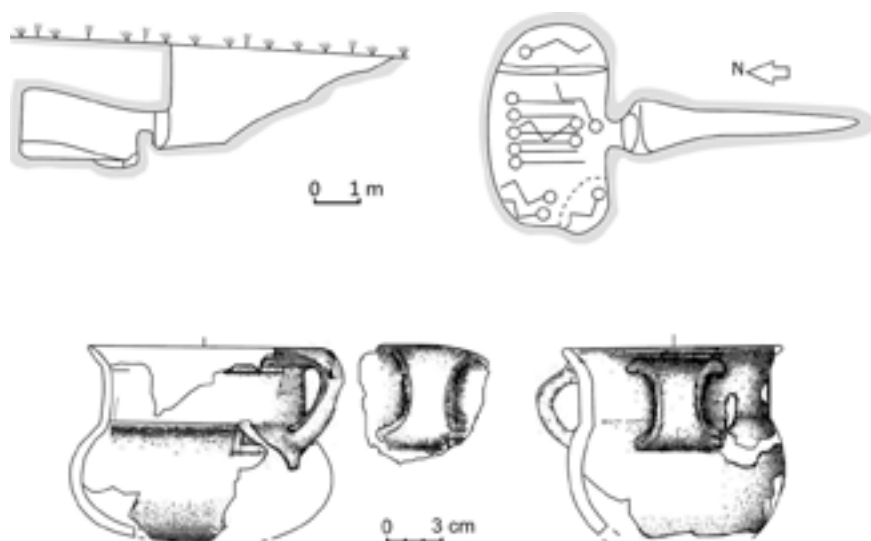


Fig. 2.6 Tomba Casal Sabini, Altamura; the lower row shows the Cetina finds.

mixed material that it has not been possible to subdivide stratigraphically. However (as suggested by Maran, see 2007), radiocarbon dates make such an argument difficult to sustain (Olujic 2012; Manning 1995: 51–73).

Heyd (2007) suggests that Cetina should be viewed as an eastern ‘margin’ (*sensu* Sherratt 1993) of the Bell Beaker phenomenon, characterized by a long duration and with a high degree of chronological and geographical variability. Indeed, a few Bell Beaker sherds are attested east of their main zone in a number of sites all along Adriatic Italy, from Tanaccia near Ravenna to Grotta della Trinità in Salento (Heyd 2007; Maran 1998; Vander Linden 2006: 98). In Heyd’s view, the closer a ‘Cetina’ site is to the boundary with the Beaker area to the west, the more its overall assemblage would present similarities with the Bell Beaker zone: for example, in the form of the ‘classic’ association of two classes of lithic items, namely stone arrowheads and wristguards (Heyd 2007). Critical to this discussion is the evidence from the Adriatic Island of Palagruža. Here, Cetina finds are abundant, representing a mixture of the early and classic horizons, and are associated with a copious lithic industry encompassing a considerable number of these two very items (i.e. arrowheads and wristguards; see Kaiser and Forenbaher 1999). The abundance and the relative standardization of lithic artefacts (in particular of blades and bladelets) led Kaiser and Forenbaher (1999) to suggest that inhabitants of the island were taking advantage of the island’s position with respect of the trans-Adriatic Cetina network, engaging in the specialized production and exchange of chert lithics.

On the other hand, if we pay attention to the general occupational pattern of the Adriatic Islands, it is possible to realize that during the Cetina period, Palagruža is the only island that reveals some activity. No architectural remains belonging to this phase have been uncovered and all the material recovered does not seem to suggest the existence of actual occupation (Forenbaher 2018: 15–19). It seems rather that during the Copper Age, the island was more likely to have been frequented or visited, than occupied. Taking these elements all together, and considering also the nature of some of the lithic artefacts retrieved at the site, it seems plausible to suggest that those who were frequenting the island had another (possibly more effective) way of exploiting the privileged position of the island in the Cetina linkages. This probably entailed the use of violence towards those groups of people stopping on the island after a voyage by sea, probably of several days duration – a violence aimed at the seizing of cargoes (i.e. obsidian, perhaps metals and a potential multitude of other materials which do not leave any archaeological trace). This hypothesis may find some confirmation in the accounts of early explorers of the island which report the retrieval of a burial with a stone arrowhead stuck in the skeleton (Marchesetti, as reported by Forenbaher 2018: 146). The great typological variability of arrowheads found, and their broad pattern of dating too, might suggest that this kind of raiding or ‘coercive control’ of the maritime space around the island went on for a long time and was carried out, probably, by various peoples, coming from different cultural backgrounds.

Overall, the change that we have seen occurring in the patterns of interaction around the Adriatic seems to be matched by considerable modification of the societies involved in those networks. At the beginning of the period, burial mounds and other capital-intensive forms of burial all over the southern Adriatic seem to suggest that communities had increased the quantity of capital at their disposal. Such augmented availability of resources, in turn, resulted in a growth in the amount of surplus available for the improvement of the Means of Interaction, prompting the adoption of maritime technologies that were more ‘expensive’ (in terms of the amount of labour needed to run them), but also more effective. This possibly means the adoption of longboats, the long and paddled vessels, which are able to contain a larger crew and cargo than simple canoes.

The archetypal example of longboat societies in the prehistoric Mediterranean has been identified by the work of Broodbank (1989, 1993, 2000) in the EBA Cyclades, where the existence of such maritime technology is also substantiated by relatively copious iconographic evidence. Unfortunately, in the case of the

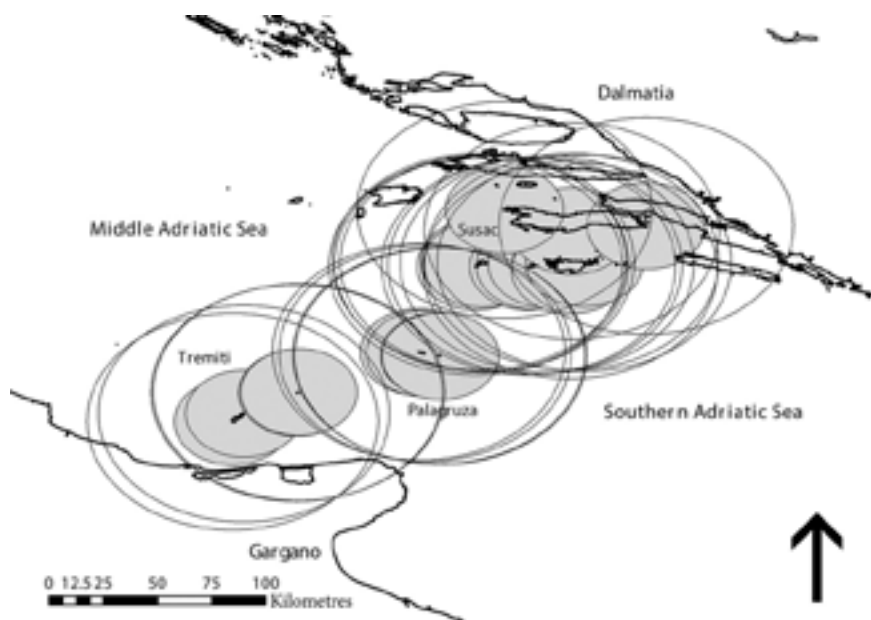


Fig. 2.7 Adriatic Islands distances. The shaded circles departing from the corners of the islands show the radius of the distance that is possible to cover in one day with a simple canoe, while the empty ones show the maximum range of a longboat. Based on estimations by Broodbank (2000: 102).

Adriatic Islands, there is no equivalent to Early Cycladic frying pans with boat depictions (Coleman 1985): we have to rely only on indirect hints. For instance, it can be argued that the increase in the volume of the interaction between the two shores of the southern Adriatic Sea, particularly around its northern edge, is hard to explain, unless we assume that longboats came into play. Indeed, from Fig. 2.7, it can be noted that the difficulties that have been postulated for the travel from one side to the other of the Adriatic are easily overcome when we replace the maximum daily radius of 20 kilometres for a standard canoe, with the 50 kilometres range of longboats. A longboat could have covered the overall distance separating the east from the west coast of the southern Adriatic, from Korčula (the largest island on the Croatian coast east of Sušac) to the Gargano peninsula, with just one-night stop on Palagruža. It is not at all coincidental, from this perspective, that Palagruža is the only island still frequented during the Cetina time frame (Forenbaher 2008: 236).

Broodbank (2000: 253–256) also suggested the existence of a certain correlation between the use of longboats and the development of a warrior

male-centred ideology in which the use and ostentation of weapons played a significant role (for a similar point more generically referred to Copper and Bronze Age Europe, see also Guilaine and Zammit 2005; Treherne 1995). Again, it is interesting to note that the existence of such an ideology on the eastern side of the southern Adriatic seems to be hinted at by the Velika Gruda golden dagger, as well as by the raiding/piratic activities suggested for Palagruža during the Cetina period.⁴ At this time, the eastern side of the Adriatic seems to have been the best equipped as far as Means of Interaction are concerned. This is not only due to the specific geography of Dalmatia, where a constellation of islands of various sizes and tongues of land projecting into the sea probably favoured the adoption and rapid development of maritime technology, but also by the long-distance links with the Aegean and inland regions of the Balkans expressed by Cetina. Such linkages, in the long run, probably endowed communities and villages on the eastern side of the Adriatic with the possibility to greatly expand the range and amount of surplus gained through exchange, thus improving their hegemony on their western partners.

Putting aside the continued flow of raw materials such as Gargano flint (Forenbaher and Perhoč 2018), the likely absence of typologically Italian goods travelling to the Cetina area is probably not to be connected with a supposedly more active role of Italian of communities in networks of interaction (Cazzella and Moscoloni 1995). On the contrary, it seems more likely that this imbalance can be explained by the lesser propensity to mobility of Copper Age/EBA Italian communities, as well as by the lack of appeal of items produced by them in the eyes of people inhabiting the more connected centres within the Cetina cultural sphere.

Chronological conundrums

Chronology is often perceived as a rather tedious subject, but alas is an unavoidable one before moving to the discussion on LBA dynamics. Indeed, chronology will decide the approximate contemporaneity of communities populating the southern Adriatic, and its pace will dictate our reconstructed narrative for the main periods of this study.

Italian scholars have been well aware of the importance of chrono-typology since the middle of the twentieth century. There has been much debate and adjustment of the duration of individual phases particularly as regards the beginning of the MBA and Recent Bronze Age (RBA) and the overall duration of the FBA, but all in all the main synchronisms are widely accepted (Bartoloni and

Delpino 2005; Cazzella 2009; Cocchi Genick 1995,1996, 2004b; Damiani 1991, 2010; Lo Porto 1964; Peroni 1959; Recchia and Ruggini 2009). As in many other areas of the Mediterranean, these are based on the Aegean chronology on the one side (through the association of local material with Aegean-type pottery) and the central European system on the other (mostly through metalwork-based associations). Needless to say, the two can sometimes clash (see Njober 2006; Bartoloni and Delpino 2005), although for the period discussed they are coherent enough. The synchronisms used in this work (Table 2.1) are based on radiocarbon dates and the recent analytical work (Jung 2006, 2016; Jung and Weninger 2009; Scarano 2012) that has allowed the establishment of relatively fine-grained correlations.

Table 2.1 Comparative chronological table of Southern Italy and the Aegean during Bronze Age. Absolute dates based on C14

Apulia Cultures	Southern Italy	Mainland Greece	Absolute Years BC
Protoapennine	MBA1	LH I	1700–1600
		LH II A	1600–1460
Apennine	MBA2	LH II B	1460–1420
	MBA3	LH III A1	1420–1375
		LH III A2	1375–1340
Subapennine	RBA1	LH III B1	1340–1210
		LH III B2	
		Trans. LH III B2-C	
	RBA2	LH III C early	1210–1130
		LH IIIC middle	1130–1100
Protovillanovan	FBA1	LH IIIC Late	1100–1080
	FBA2	Submycenaean	1080–1040
MBA: Middle Bronze Age; RBA: Recent Bronze Age; FBA: Final Bronze Age; LH: Late Helladic.			

MBA: Middle Bronze Age; RBA: Recent Bronze Age; FBA: Final Bronze Age; LH: Late Helladic.

Early Encounters

The individual community during the Middle Bronze Age

Living together in the Middle Bronze Age

As outlined in Chapter 2, human settlement in the Adriatic area had already been long established by the beginning of the Bronze Age. The beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) (1700–1500 BC) saw the gradual infilling of the landscape of many parts of Apulia with villages and small hamlets (Fig. 3.1). This was probably a relatively slow process stretching over some three centuries or more. It is also possible (although difficult to prove with the scant Early Bronze Age (EBA) evidence at hand) that, at least in some cases, this infilling had its basis in a previous intense Neolithic occupation in the same areas, as for instance in some parts of the Tavoliere (Tunzi Sisto 1995), in the low plain southeast of Taranto (Corrado and Ingravallo 1988), as well as, perhaps, in the coast north of Brindisi (Coppola 1977).¹

An in-depth understanding of this occupation has become possible only recently, thanks to the new information provided by the systematic survey of a relatively well-preserved part of the region, the area around Cisternino (Fig. 3.1), which was conducted by Burgers and Recchia (2009). The investigations have uncovered a dense lattice of hamlets, arguably constituted by two or three dwellings in each, dispersed over the rural landscape.

The near-coastal (between 5 and 10 kilometres from the coast) and coastal (up to 5 kilometres from the sea) strips of Apulia were both slightly more densely occupied than the interior (more than 10 kilometres inland), but the difference is minimal (see Table 3.1). Inland areas seem to have been particularly favoured when they were close to rivers, where the site density can be relatively high (e.g. in the case of the River Ofanto; see Radina 1992; Tunzi Sisto 1995). The apparent slight preference for the coast might, of course, be the product of a bias towards the study of coastal areas, which historically have been more



Fig. 3.1 Distribution of Protoapennine and Apennine sites in Apulia. Site names and data in Appendix 1.

Table 3.1 Distribution of sites in Apulia during the MBA. Coastal settlements are placed up to 5 km from the coast; semi-coastal settlements between 5 and 10 km. Hinterland settlements are located at more than 10 km from the coast. Lakeside settlements are located on the shore of coastal lakes in the Gargano

	Coastal	Semi-coastal	Hinterland	Lakeside	Total
Protoapennine	32	37	31	3	102
Apennine	21	22	30	5	77

intensively investigated, but since this situation seems to be also confirmed for the area around Brindisi, which has been thoroughly investigated (Burgers 1998; Burgers and Recchia 2009; Coppola 1977; Yntema 1993), it seems plausible that this is a real pattern. In general terms, this situation does not seem to change that much in the subsequent phase of the MBA, the Apennine phase, corresponding to the fourteenth century BC. The only difference that can be appreciated is a decrease in the near-coastal settlement and a relative increase in the hinterland occupation. What does seem to change, though, is the general pattern of occupation, which sees a gradual but constant decrease in the number of sites from Protoapennine to Apennine (Bettelli 2002; Bietti Sestieri 2010b; Burgers and Recchia 2009). This trend, however, is potentially only apparent: taking into consideration the longer duration of the MBA Protoapennine phase (at least 200 years) and comparing it with the century and a half or so of the Apennine, one can see that actually there is an increase in the number of sites per year between the two periods (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Number of sites per year in MBA Apulia

	No. of sites	No. of sites per year	Duration in years
MBA	179	0.49	360
Protoapennine	102	0.43	240
Apennine	77	0.64	120

Returning to the general model of occupation, small near-coastal settlements, creating the packed landscape previously evoked, were often aggregated in clusters that probably shared some resource or other critical for their common survival (i.e. water sources and/or land suitable for herding and farming, Cazzella 2009; Recchia 2009; Recchia and Ruggini 2009). Cave use, often at some distance from the settlement and aimed mostly at cultic and funerary activities, is sustained from the previous periods, constituting an important element of continuity within the Apulian landscape (see Skeates 2005; Tunzi Sisto 2012; Whitehouse 1992).

As far as the funerary domain is concerned, a very atypical form of tomb, recognized in the area around Trinitapoli in the north of the region, is the hypogea (Fig. 3.1 no. 71, 141): large rock-cut and underground chamber tombs containing hundreds of depositions frequently accompanied by precious grave goods (Tunzi Sisto 1999). Two in particular received rich grave assemblages, including a large number of bronzes (in the *Ipogeo dei Bronzi*), as well as two of the earliest items in hippopotamus ivory documented in Southern Italy (in the *Ipogeo degli Avori*) and other precious exotica such as faience (see Bellintani 2010b; Tunzi Sisto 1999: 184–222). Hypogea (which have some parallels in Southern Italy, for example at Toppo Daguzzo, or Lavello in Basilicata; see Tunzi Sisto 2012) constituted undoubtedly complex ideological and symbolic foci: we will return later to them. Other examples of ‘anomalous’ funerary practices are cremation cemeteries. These are completely absent in the Apulian Bronze Age, but for two exceptions in central and southern Apulia, namely Pozzillo (Fig. 3.1 no. 26, near modern Canosa; see Lo Porto 1997) and (possibly) Muro Leccese (Fig. 3.1 no. 112, in southern Salento; see Maggiulli 1912), probably both dating to the MBA (Bettelli 2002: 143; Orlando 1995).

Another widespread type of funerary monument is that of burial mounds with a central cell made up megalithic stone slabs or dolmens. The dolmens are very often the only part that survives to this day, when they can still be glimpsed in the olive groves in the countryside. They tell of the existence of Bronze Age occupation, even in the absence of all other traces. All the tombs belonging to this category investigated in northern and central Apulia have revealed material dating mainly to the MBA (both Protoapennine and Apennine; see Cataldo 1995; Recchia 2011), while to the south, they can be considerably earlier (see Chapter 2 and Aprile et al. 2018; Pacciarelli et al. 2015: 260–265, the Copper Age mound recently excavated at Orsara in the north-west seems to belong to a different typology; see La Rocca 2017: 559–561).

As can be argued from their distribution, for instance, in the area around Giovinazzo (near Bari) or at the site of Fondo Lafranca (near Lecce, some 9 kilometres inland from Roca; see Fig. 3.1 nos. 53, 47), there seems to have been a close spatial relationship between settlements and burial mounds, which perhaps represented territorial markers, as suggested by Renfrew long ago (see Fig. 3.2 and Cataldo 1995; Notario and Traverso 1996; Renfrew 1973). Mounds indeed are often placed at some distance from the settlement or, as suggested by Cazzella (2009), between the coastal and the near-coastal areas. This last suggestion, originally advanced for northern Apulia, seems to also hold true of the south in Salento (i.e. see the intermediate position of the mounds of Specchia Artanisi in relation to the coastal settlement of Le Pазze/Ugento, or the dolmen

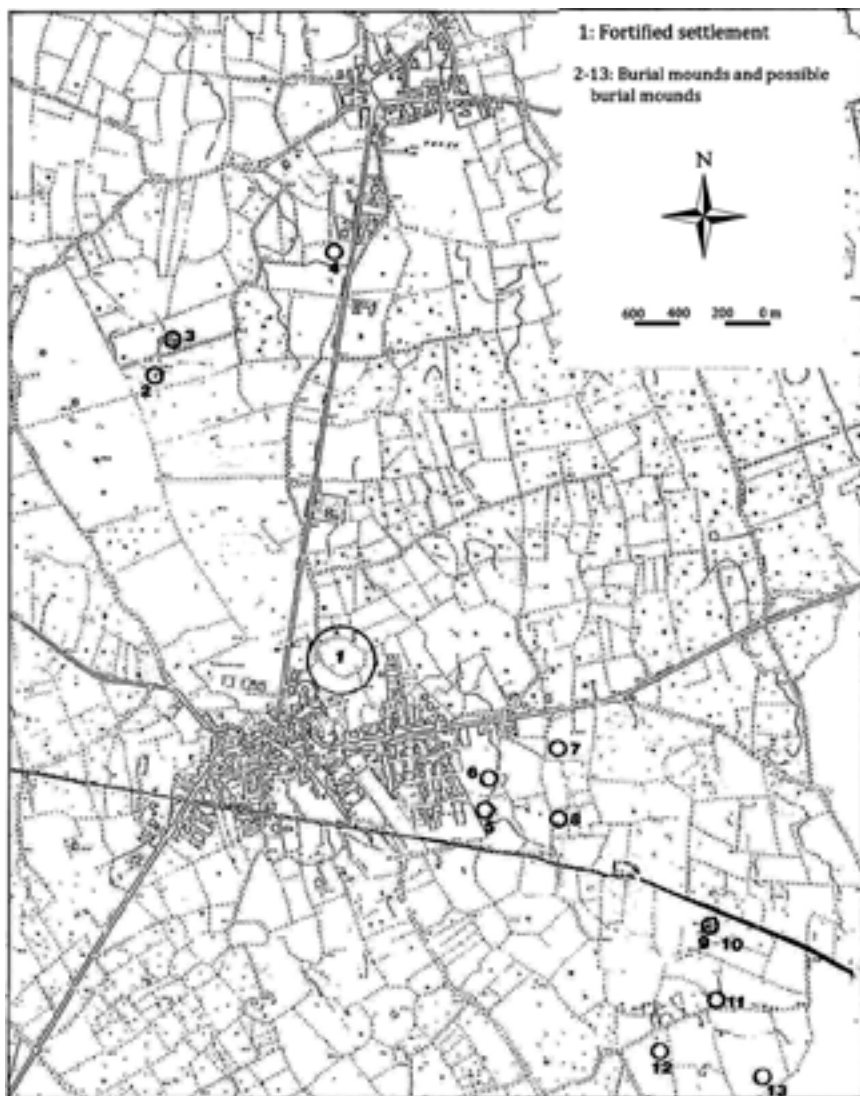


Fig. 3.2 Fortified Middle Bronze Age settlement of Fondo Lafranca, near Vanze (Lecce).

in Melendugno, not far from Roca; see Fig. 3.1 nos. 41, 63, 149 and Bianco 1980; Bietti Sestieri and Scardozzi 2010; Orlando 1995).

Extremely atypical, although not connected with the world of the dead, is the site of Vasche Napolitane (Fig. 3.1 no. 165), located inside a coastal wetland near the modern salt production facilities at Santa Margherita di Savoia (Bari), not far from Trinitapoli. The excavators have interpreted the extremely labour-demanding set of rock-cut pools and channels identified at the site as a salt production facility

dating to the MBA. Vasche Napolitane constitutes one of the few credible examples of a Bronze Age site with structures explicitly dedicated to specialized productive activities, although indications of the possible presence of comparable actions are also attested at other sites, as in the case of purple dye production at Coppa Nevigata (Fig. 3.1 no. 28; see later in the chapter and Cazzella et al. 2005) or the mould fragments and other similar metalworking evidence retrieved at various locales in the region (i.e. Coppa Nevigata and Trinitapoli, as well as crucible and slag fragments from Punta le Terrare; see Lo Porto 1998; Tunzi Sisto 1999: 158).

Coastal centres constitute undoubtedly key evidence about MBA and Late Bronze Age Apulia, as well as probably being the sites most thoroughly explored. As their very name suggests, these are settlements located directly on the sea or in a close spatial relation to the coast. Some of their other recurrent features are a considerable longevity, the presence nearby of a lagoon and a coastline with a low profile, favouring early maritime activity: the inhabitants were able to exploit the range of resources associated with this kind of environment (similar habitats are attested at Bari, Belvedere-Ariscianne Coppa Nevigata, Roca and many more Fig. 3.1 nos. 8, 28, 10; Caldara et al. 2003a; 2005; Radina 2010). Due to the lack of contextual data, in the past the phenomenon of the coastal sites had appeared to be a consequence of Aegean influence on Apulian communities (Lo Porto 1969: 6; Whitehouse 1973: 623). Archaeological research over the past few decades, however, has unmistakably established that the beginning of this phenomenon largely predates the bulk of the interaction between the Aegean world and this part of the Mediterranean; which, as we will see, attained momentum only in later times (Cazzella and Moscoloni 1998). Cazzella (2009) has interpreted coastal sites as part of a general trend towards the formation of long-lasting 'specialized' sites with a specific focus on trade and exchange. Fortifications were among the main distinguishable architectural elements of the specialized sites and their presence is motivated, according to this theory, by the existence of endemic local warfare. However, walls are present in a good proportion of MBA sites, not only at coastal or long-lasting ones (e.g. Muro Maurizio [Fig. 3.1 no. 113] and perhaps Fondo Lafranca: both short-lived and endowed with fortifications; Santa Maria di Ripalta possibly has walls; see Cremonesi 1977; Nava and Pennacchioni 1984; Notario and Traverso 1996).

Defensive walls do, however, represent a pre-eminent aspect of the archaeological record of MBA Apulia. Many of such monuments date back to the Protoapennine period, and at least in some cases (e.g. Coppa Nevigata) appear to have been characterized by a complex plan already endowed with towers during the earliest building phases (Fig. 3.3; Cazzella et al. 2012; Scarano 2010;

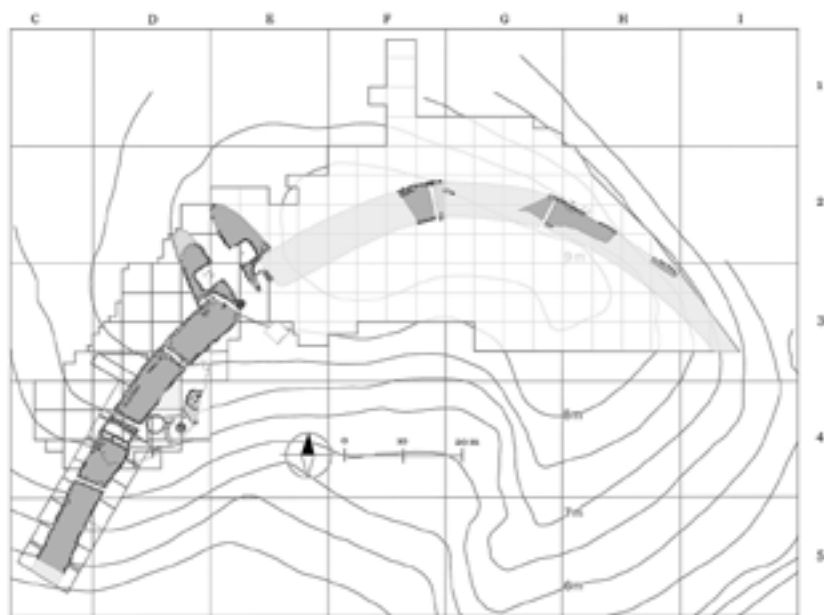


Fig. 3.3 Protoapennine fortifications of Coppa Nevigata.

2012). These early phases are actually considerably earlier than any Mycenaean citadels, and their development seems to be largely due to local dynamics with little indirect external inspiration from contemporary fortifications in the Aegean (Jung 2013; *contra* Cazzella and Recchia 2009). Usually, where natural barriers (i.e. cliffs or similar) were available, only those sides of the settlement that lacked them were defended through walls (as in the case of Madonna del Petto; see Muntoni 1995, 2010). This incompleteness might also be the result of lack of preservation of the structures due to erosion (i.e. in the case of Masseria Chiancudda; see Cinquepalmi and Recchia 2010).

Interestingly, in the case of sites that were directly adjacent to the coast, the side that was defended was almost invariably the one facing inland, suggesting that perhaps the real threat was perceived as coming from the hinterland rather than what/who was coming from the sea (among others, Coppa Nevigata, Punta Manaccora, Egnazia [Fig. 3.1 no. 45] and Roca [Fig. 3.1 no. 35]; Biancofiore 1965; Cazzella et al. 2012; Scarano 2010; Tunzi Sisto 1995). This aspect perhaps need not be overemphasized: the limitations of attack strategies using small Bronze Age ships (i.e. their inability to transport in one voyage a large number of attackers, as well as the difficulties they were likely to encounter approaching the land in the absence of a beach) may anyway have rendered direct attack from the sea less likely, and so erecting defences of the side on the sea was *de facto* worthless.

A variety of building techniques were adopted, often in the same structure, for the construction of fortifications, ranging from medium-sized dry-stone masonry, through the use of large megaliths as main load-supporting elements, to the employment of small slabs of rock in order to make more regular façades (at Masseria Chiancudda, Roca and Coppa Nevigata; see Cazzella et al. 2010; Cinquepalmi and Recchia 2010; Scarano 2011). The first two of these techniques were also used in contemporary structures in Bronze Age Apulia, namely in the megalithic chambers of the burial mounds, thus reinforcing the impression that defensive walls were essentially the outcome of a fundamentally endogenous architectural development.

Similarities between burial mounds and walls, however, are not confined to the technical sphere. Although purely military considerations might have represented the main rationale for constructing fortifications, they – as do the burial mounds – obviously constituted a focal point in the landscape. This is a presence that would have profoundly affected the perception that the inhabitants of Bronze Age Apulia had of their surroundings. As a consequence, it is perhaps not surprising that the defence walls were used also as loci for an atypical funerary custom. At present this practice appears to be documented only at Coppa Nevigata, where human remains have been recovered near or inside the fortifications. These included both ‘formal’ burials dating to the Apennine horizon, deposited in the passageways of the earlier Protoapennine walls, and small disarticulated bones, probably the remains of secondary depositions, mostly located in the same area (Recchia 2008). Here, then, the walls with their burials enclosed and marked the limits of the habitation area of the community in a very similar way that the mounds did for the borders of the territories around the dispersed villages in the near-coastal area and in their hinterlands. Attempts have been made to estimate the amount of labour required for the construction of the fortifications – for example, at Coppa Nevigata: a likely figure of 100 working days requiring fifty workers was reached (which should constitute a quarter of the adult males in the overall population of the site according to Cazzella 2009: 300; see also Cazzella and Moscoloni 1999, 2001). Such estimates make clear the huge amount of work required for the realization of similar structures, but are admittedly subject to a number of unpredictable variables – for instance, how far were the sources of the raw material from the actual location of the walls (Guglielmino 2014)?²

We possess detailed information on the organization of space in the settlement only for the case of Coppa, for which we know of the existence of various structures, with some huts predating the walls (Cazzella and Recchia 2012b: 247). Through the Protoapennine, the settlement expands beyond the

limits of the early walls but is (violently) destroyed (Cazzella and Recchia 2012b: 263–272; Recchia 2010a). Two subsequent fortifications are built during the Apennine. For the latter phase of this period, the picture offered by Coppa is one of a relatively florid village with streets, storage pits and open paved areas possibly aimed at collective events (Cazzella and Recchia 2012b: 280–290; 2013).

Connecting the Apulian community during the MBA

The site of Roca (Fig. 3.4) respects many of the characteristics of coastal sites previously identified. The settlement was delimited on its eastern side by the sea and on the west by a shallow basin, currently known as ‘Bacino dei Tamari’. Landfall in the nearby sandy bay of Torre dell’Orso (about 1 kilometre to the south) was also easy. From its earliest phases, a fortification wall protected the settled area from the side facing inland.

This defensive structure at its start (in late Protoapennine times) was not unlike similar ones at other sites in the region (see Pagliara 2003; Scarano 2010, 2011, 2012). By Apennine times, however, its overall width had increased to 20 m at its thickest point, at the main gate. The fortifications presented now a complex plan, endowed with rooms, roofed and unroofed corridors and a possible tower (Fig. 3.5; see Scarano 2011). The area immediately inside the



Fig. 3.4 Aerial view of the Roca peninsula.

interior face, previously left free, was now occupied by small light structures (Guglielmino and Pagliara 2004: 565–566; Scarano 2011). This phase ended with a violent destruction towards the end of the Apennine period, witnessed by a fire level located in many areas of the settlement. Numerous human remains came to light (e.g. in Area X; see Pagliara et al. 2007; Scarano 2011). These were primarily located in the walls, in Posterns B and C, in the main gate, plus minor quantities elsewhere. Forensic analyses by Fabbri (2002), on the human bones from Postern C (Fig. 3.6), have revealed an unusually well-preserved

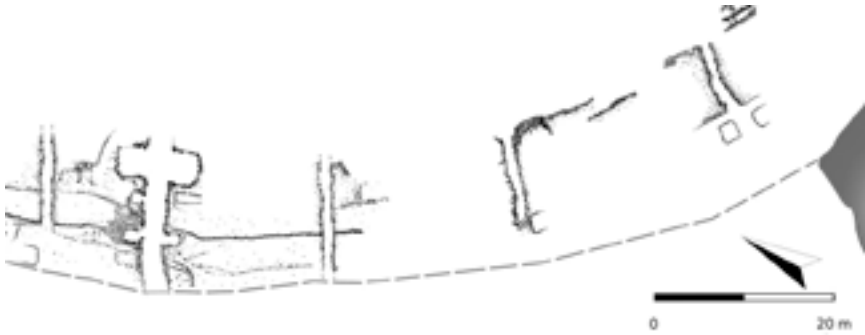


Fig. 3.5 General plan of Roca's fortifications.

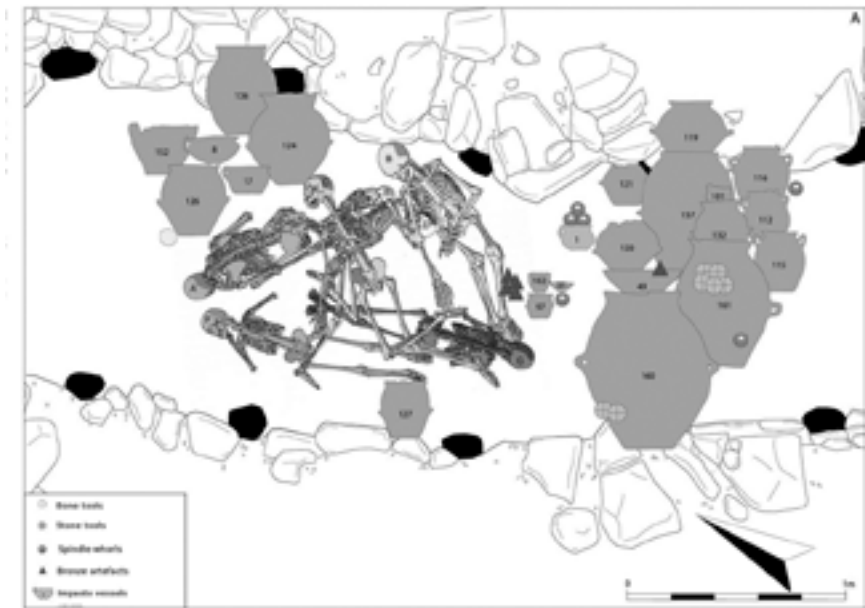


Fig. 3.6 Postern C. Plan of the shelter.

context. Seven individuals have been identified crowded into a small space at the end of the corridor, whose entrance had been blocked by a barrier of large stones: the whole context was sealed over by the destruction debris. On the basis of their unusual find-spot, it is likely that these individuals (two adults of different sexes, one juvenile and four children) died as a result of asphyxiation during a fire that destroyed the Apennine fortifications. A large number of handmade *Impasto* vessels were retrieved within the same context, grouped in several clusters at different distances from the human remains. These included all the essential equipment of a household. It is thus suggested that the group of people in Postern C probably had actually lived for some time where they died (Scarano 2011, 2012).

Another dead individual (an adult male) has been connected with the same fire event. His remains were uncovered in the main gate area, on top of the fire level. Accordingly, it has been argued that probably the main gate had some sort of upper-floor structure, from which the individual might have fallen (Guglielmino 1996). Although the skeleton was poorly preserved, signs of a weapon's thrust have been identified on the bones. The close spatial relationship between these remains and a dagger of Aegean-type and an ivory duck pyxis (box) – both unattested elsewhere in the region – have also induced Guglielmino (1996: 265) to identify the man as an Aegean aggressor, although this suggestion remains tentative.

As for material traces of external connections, other than the Aegean-type dagger and duck pyxis, only five sherds of Aegean-type pottery (Fig. 3.7) have been uncovered in the area of the MBA fortifications. These include both standard Mycenaean/Late Helladic (LH) IIIA products, such as the storage containers named piriform jars, a kylix and a small straight-sided alabastron, and probable relics of earlier periods, such as a fragment of a possible Minyan kantharos (see Fig. 3.8; Guglielmino 2013).

The fortifications are not the only area explored that revealed occupation from the MBA. Area X has produced a very few structural remains (i.e. the corner of a rubble wall) with one isolated, non-diagnostic sherd of Aegean-type material (Pagliara et al. 2007). Besides Area X, MBA occupation at Roca is usually limited to the fill of ambiguous semi-underground structures of a sort that have been uncovered all over the peninsula (see D'Amico 2003). It is not easy to assess what these were, although some of them could represent the remains of dwellings (similar structures are known at Torre Santa Sabina or Otranto; see Coppola and Cinquepalmi 1998; Coppola and Raimondi 1995; Orlando 2002). In spite

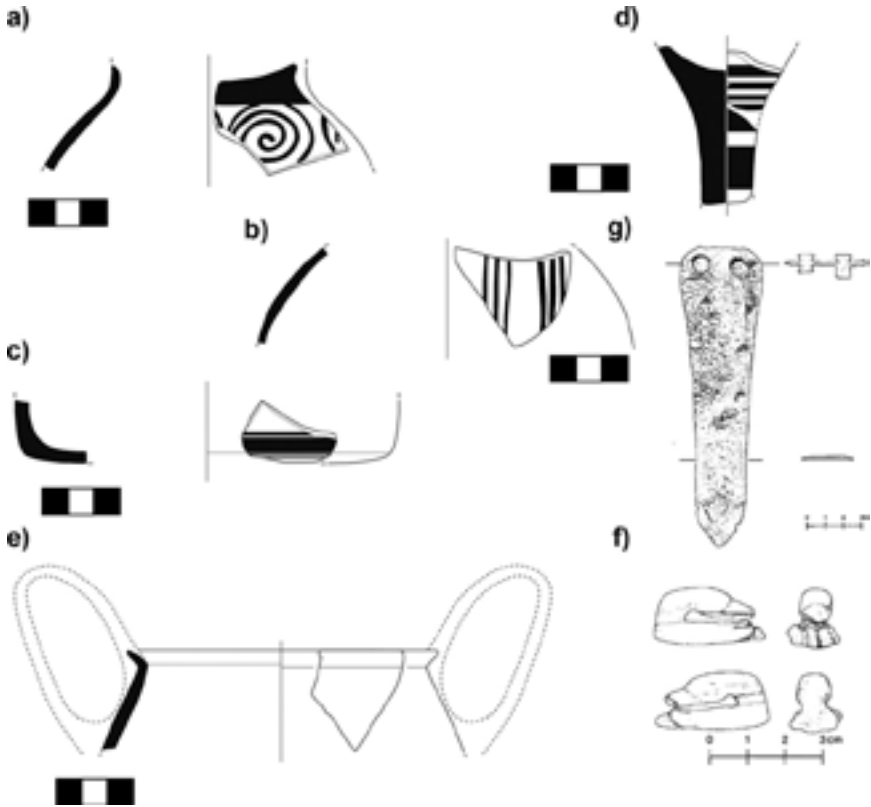


Fig. 3.7 Pottery and other Aegean-related material from the MBA levels of the area of the fortifications: (a, b) piriform jars; (c) angular alabastron; (d) kylix stem; (e) Minyan kantharos; (f) ivory duck pyxis; (g) dagger (pottery scale 1:2; modified after Guglielmino in Scarano 2012).

of their wide diffusion over the promontory of Roca, only one of these semi-underground structures has produced Aegean-type material.

All in all, evidence of interaction for the MBA community of Roca suggests that, although Aegean-type material was undoubtedly already present at the site, its diffusion among Roca's households was not widespread. To put it plainly, large quantities of imported/imitated material do not exist; as a consequence, there is simply not enough material to assess whether access to it was limited and/or controlled in some way.

Besides Roca, minute quantities of Mycenaean-style ceramics have been uncovered in several other contemporary sites in the Adriatic (Fig. 3.8). The most common contexts of recovery (and perhaps also of deposition) are settlements,

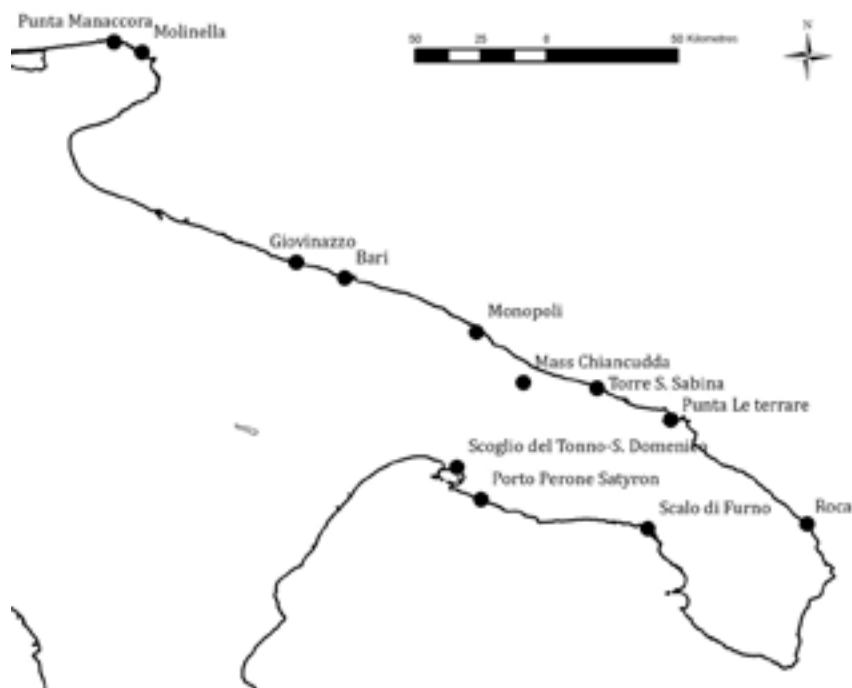


Fig. 3.8 Protoapennine and Apennine sites in Apulia with Aegean-type material.

where sherds are retrieved in the habitation levels of the small huts (i.e. the typical dwellings of the region). Such a situation is encountered at various locales along the Adriatic and Ionian coast of Apulia, for instance at Bari, Monopoli, Punta le Terrare and Porto Cesareo/Scalo di Furno (Lo Porto 1990; Princigalli 2010; Radina 1998). The repertoire seems to have been quite varied, encompassing both closed and open shapes suited to a variety of functions (see later in the chapter). Finds not related to occupational debris in huts are fairly limited. An apparent exception is represented by the few sherds recovered at Manaccora, a cave frequented for cultic and funerary purposes from the Protoapennine period. The extremely fragmentary nature of these materials and the fact that they were not associated with any inhumation could well suggest that they were not deposited deliberately in the cave during rituals, but that they simply ended up in the archaeological deposits, together with other debris from the nearby settlement, and only by chance (Baumgartel 1953; Recchia 1993).

A probable exception, though, is the Dolmen San Silvestro at Giovinazzo, where the fragment of a possible LH I cup has been uncovered in the deposits belonging to the burials. The authenticity of this find has been doubted in the

past by Benzi and Graziadio (1982), although the subsequent recovery of matt-painted fragments from the occupational layer of the related settlement (Radina and Cataldo 1998) seems to have provided some sort of confirmation for early Aegean contacts at the site.

A further exception, again with reference to a funerary context, is the burial mound of Torre Santa Sabina near Brindisi (Fig. 3.9). This is an unusual funerary monument which, as observed by various scholars (Onnis 2010; Orlando 1995: 28; Peroni 1996: 220), bears noteworthy similarities with burial practices attested on the other side of the Adriatic, most notably in Albania. Here, as in the Albanian examples and unlike other funerary structures such as the aforementioned Dolmen San Silvestro (a passage grave), the mound was built centred upon a central pit tomb that was not endowed with any megalithic chamber, but only covered with a stone slab. Other burials were then dug directly into the mound all around the central one. In the case of Torre Santa Sabina, the central grave was occupied by an individual placed in crouched position on her/his left-hand side, another peculiarity typical of Albanian *tumaj* (the Albanian term for mound; see, for instance, the tumulus of Dukat near Vlorë; see Bodinaku 2002; Onnis 2010). This burial was endowed with grave offerings only of Aegean type: most notably, a Vapheio cup (one of the most widespread type of cups in the

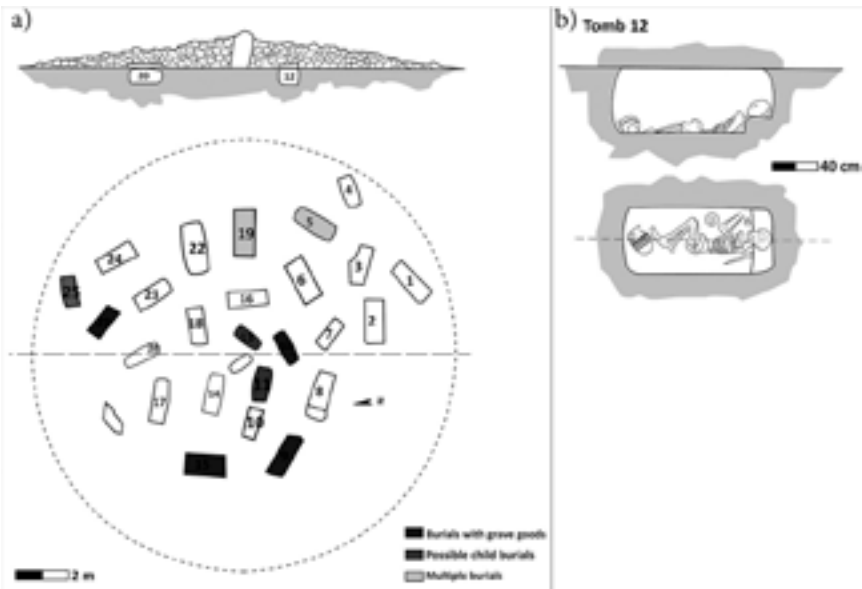


Fig. 3.9 The burial mound at Torre Santa Sabina.

Mycenaean world of the time), a straight-sided alabastron, a matt-painted jug and a bronze knife. As suggested by Onnis (2010), the Torre Santa Sabina mound has also peculiarities that do not particularly match the Albanian parallels, such as the interment of more than one body in the same tomb, and the presence of children among the inhumations. Both features are well attested in other mounds in Apulia: therefore, it does not seem necessary to look for parallels in the Ionian Islands, as Onnis (2010) does (see Ingravallo et al. 2007, 2010).

Also of exceptional character, although probably still related to some kind of settlement, are the finds from the important site of Scoglio del Tonno, a large portion of which (about thirty-nine vessels) should date to LH IIIA2, and therefore towards the end of the Italian MBA (Peroni 1996; Quagliati 1900). This site was located on the northern shore of the Mare Piccolo of the modern city (and Greek colony) of Taranto, an enviable position for conducting maritime activity. The relatively short preliminary report published by Quagliati in 1900 remains the only document describing the context of one of the most important Bronze Age sites in the Central Mediterranean. Although some information is available, the context of the deposition of LH IIIA2 ceramic material at Scoglio del Tonno remains unfortunately unknown.

Interaction in Adriatic MBA contexts, however, was not solely represented by material linkages with the Aegean world. Some contexts have produced traces of other long-range exchange networks, unrelated with Minoan/Mycenaean Greece. Probably among the most important of these are the rich funerary hypogea, sizeable underground rock-cut tombs discovered in the area around Trinitapoli and lasting from the Middle to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. One of them, at Madonna di Loreto (the so-called *Ipogeo dei Bronzi*), was the locus of ritual for an elite group for about 250 years, in the transitional period between the Protoapennine and the Apennine. Over 200 depositions are recorded (Fig. 3.10; Tunzi Sisto 1999). Bronze items, both weapons and personal ornaments, showing links with northern Italy and the Balkans (see later in the chapter), were deposited as grave goods with local *Impasto* pottery and exotica (such as amber and faience), in complex associations with clearly distinguishable gender differentiations. In particular, while swords and rings were associated with male burials, pottery pyxides (boxes), ornaments and other similar items were more likely to occur at female burials. The spatial distribution also indicated the deposition of women and men in marked zonal arrangements respecting previous depositions, possibly indicating the persistence of the same (or related) kinship lineages (Vanzetti 1999). On the basis of the grave goods' associations, as well as by patterns of deposition,

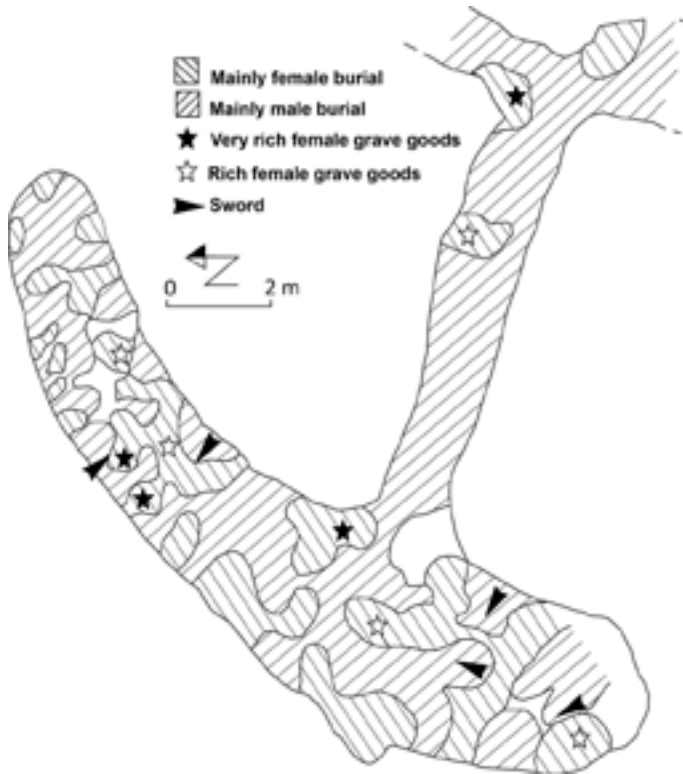


Fig. 3.10 Schematic arrangement of burials in the *Ipogeo dei Bronzi* at Madonna di Loreto.

Recchia (1999) has suggested the existence of potential funerary rituals in common with those at the Manaccora Cave in the Gargano, where swords with trans-Adriatic affinities were also identified (most notably the Manaccora-type swords (Peroni 1989: 346; Recchia 2002: 334, fig. 3.6).

The outstanding evidence from Trinitapoli has, however, prompted different interpretations. Peroni (1999) identifies in the group buried at Madonna di Loreto an early example of the pre-urban clan (or *formazione gentilizio-clientelare pre-urbana* according to his terminology) that emerged as a result of the osmosis between the southern Italy and Aegean worlds and that, according to his general model for the evolution of Italian societies during the Bronze Age, should finally (i.e. during the Recent Bronze Age) supersede the 'traditional' tribes (Peroni 1999). Bietti Sestieri (2010b: 117–118) instead suggests that the social display exhibited at Madonna di Loreto is purely the outcome of the competition between local kinship groups (involved in piracy and raiding activities), and that the

community to which the hypogeum belonged was structured socially much as the other Protoapennine and Apennine centres of Southern Italy (Bietti Sestieri 2003; 2010b). Potentially, both suggestions could hold some truth. In fact, as we will see, while the overall evidence for interaction with the Aegean in this sector of Adriatic Apulia at this time is undoubtedly thin, and beyond any doubt too thin to propose the kind of 'osmosis' which Peroni seems to imply (particularly in relation to later evidence); the use of the same burial site for as long as is attested in the *Ipogeo dei Bronzi* indicates the endurance of strong kinship ties between one or a limited number of related lineages whose importance cannot be underestimated. Overall, both Peroni's and Bietti Sestieri's hypotheses fall short of acknowledging the possibility that social change at Trinitapoli might have emerged, despite the absence of substantial direct connections with the Aegean world.

The Protoapennine and Apennine network

Now that the context of interaction (or better the contexts of deposition of the material consequences of interaction) has been discussed in some detail at the level of the individual community, it is possible to turn to the next level of the analysis, namely the small-scale network. The kind of connections that I will discuss here are those within a short range, such as those explained in Chapter 1, which would accompany the existence of plausible intercommunity political ties. To explore this topic, I will use the tools provided by graph theory and apply them to the analysis of the stylistic features of handmade *Impasto* pottery.

Dealing with small-scale networks

The analysis here will be primarily focused on the sharing of stylistic features. The notion of style adopted in this work is a rather traditional one, including decoration and non-functional morphological variation. While not taking into account technological and formal features has considerable limitations (Dietler and Herbic 1998; Gosselain 1998), much of the stylistic information available for ceramics in Apulia as well as elsewhere in the Mediterranean relates only to these aspects. I will however discursively introduce an assessment of the context of production and how that changed over time in relation also to technology. Stylistic features of MBA local *Impasto* are particularly well suited

for investigating issues of connectivity as they are less influenced by similarities that are related to performance and function than shape (*contra* Sackett 1990). Additionally, while decoration probably did not work as a conscious means of signalling affiliation (*sensu*; Wobst 1977), it was probably still meant to convey (either consciously or not) the agency of the producers (Gell 1998: 73–77), what Wiessner (1983: 258) defines as an ‘assertive’ style, aimed at ‘separating persons from similar others’ and ‘giving personal translations of membership to various groups’. Because of this, it makes an excellent tool for the exploration of local connectivity. Indeed, my analysis will show that, although undoubtedly subject to considerable regional variability (Scarano 2006), decoration is able to reveal unexpected relations.

Decoration is something typical of handmade *Impasto* pottery at this time. It is normally incised on the vase, and incisions are sometimes filled with white paste. Relief decoration is also attested on some shapes (mostly on storage vessels in the form of various kinds of cordons), but is not so elaborate nor so time-sensitive (Cazzella and Recchia 2004). During Protoapennine times, decoration was quite simple, though encompassing many linear motifs, while in the mature Apennine phase motifs could become fairly complicated and excision (i.e. the removal of clay) was also present as a technique (see Cocchi Genick et al. 1993; Macchiarola 1987; Scarano 2006).

In the construction of the networks analysed later in the chapter, I have taken into consideration the attestation of the same decorative motifs in more than one site; that is, each site is represented by a dot/node, and if two sites have the same motif, an edge is drawn between them.³ Data are derived from existing typologies and catalogues of decorated pottery that are fairly detailed, with some updating (Cocchi Genick et al. 1993; Macchiarola 1987; Scarano 2006).⁴

The graphs in this, as well as in the following chapters are undirected, which means that any relationship expressed is symmetrical (i.e. $a_{ij} = a_{ji}$). This corresponds with a fact that concerns the distribution and circulation of motifs, namely that it is never possible to assess where exactly a motif was first realized. Since the geographic scale of the network is in absolute terms relatively small, spatial distance between sites has not been taken into consideration in the networks; that is, nodes connect to one another throughout the whole region. Weighting of edges has been adopted in order to highlight the connection between sites based on more than one motif. If two sites share only one motif, the weight of their link is 1, if two then it is 2 and so on. As for any analysis that is based on real (instead of theoretical)

data, there is always the possibility that the incompleteness of the information record available will have affected the resulting graph. Also, some of the co-attestation attested might actually relate to chronological differences difficult to disentangle with the evidence at hand. The graph, all in all, represents an imperfect calculation based on our current state of knowledge and the existence of presently unknown intermediate nodes in the region between two known nodes is always possible.

The main goal is to identify sites that have a larger Weighted Degree Centrality (i.e. number of connections), as multiple connections will allow communities to gather resources from a wider variety of places, increasing their position in Relations of Interaction. In the tables with the network measures (Tables 3.3–3.4), the column ‘Weighted Degree’ states the number of edges for each node: the one with highest value is that which has the highest Degree Centrality in the network. In addition, the graphs are consulted to find the correlation between Weighted Degree Centrality and the presence of Aegean-type pottery, as well as for general patterns of connectiveness: this is done to bring out differences in the network of *Impasto* pottery through time and how these correlate with interaction moving about Aegean-related goods.

Naturally enough, there is a constant problem of representativeness that exists at the heart of this network analysis. For almost every site included, we do not know the original amount of pottery recovered, as nearly always this was not reported in the publications, mostly because the focus was on typological aspects rather than on the specific quantities of each assemblage. Considering the uneven nature of material analysed (from settlement, tombs and surveys), and the different standards (of collection, selection and publication) entailed, often (if not always) not made explicit by the excavators, a precise assessment of the bias appertaining to the assemblages from each site is impossible in practice. Nevertheless, an intimation that said bias is probably not overwhelming is offered by the spatial correlation between the nodes with the stronger connections. Many sites with strong linkages appear close to one another (Figs. 3.1 and 3.11, that is, nos. 144 and 123 or nos. 22, 113 and 137); this is something that is expected in a ‘real world’ situation, where people are more likely to have more frequent contact with inhabitants of nearby communities.⁵ The differential levels of exploration and preservation of sites in the network will be considered in the critical evaluation of the results, when assessing their influence on the overall shape of the network.

Table 3.3 Measures of the graph related to the distribution of the Protoapennine motifs

Site no.	Degree	Weighted Degree	Modularity Class	ATP	TNoM
22	16	20	0	No	8
113	13	16	0	No	3
75	11	11	0	No	2
16	10	10	0	No	1
39	10	10	0	No	1
86	10	10	0	No	1
105	10	10	0	No	1
138	10	10	0	No	1
149	10	10	0	No	1
137	6	8	0	No	4
136	3	3	0	No	1
151	3	3	0	No	1
4	1	1	0	No	1
8	1	1	0	Yes	1
166	1	1	0	No	2
144	20	25	1	No	6
123	20	24	1	Yes	4
129	12	16	1	No	3
135	12	15	1	Yes	8
158	12	13	1	?	4
142	11	11	1	No	2
14	10	10	1	No	1
68	10	10	1	No	1
128	10	10	1	No	1
98	10	10	1	Yes	1
53	10	10	1	Yes	2
45	4	4	1	No	1
121	1	1	1	No	1
30	3	3	2	No	3
28	3	3	2	No	4
134	2	2	2	No	3
130	1	1	2	Yes	1

ATP: Aegean-type pottery (attested or not, ? if the find is uncertainly attributable to this phase); TNoM: total number of motifs.

Table 3.4 Measures of the graph related to the distribution of the Apennine motifs

Site no.	Degree	Weighted Degree	Modularity Class	ATP	TNoM
28	17	37	1	No	33
144	9	15	3	Yes	10
142	8	14	3	No	10
71	8	13	3	No	15
136	9	11	2	No	5
65	7	9	1	No	5
26	6	9	3	No	9
129	6	6	2	Yes	4
135	4	5	0	Yes	11
114	5	5	3	No	2
29	5	5	3	No	3
13	2	4	1	No	5
87	4	4	2	No	1
130	4	4	2	No	1
120	4	4	2	No	2
117	4	4	3	No	2
159	3	4	3	No	3
2	3	3	1	No	1
61	3	3	1	No	1
131	3	3	1	No	1
123	3	3	3	?	2
53	2	2	0	No	1
4	2	2	0	No	3
119	2	2	1	No	1
8	2	2	1	Yes	1
98	2	2	3	Yes	1
156	1	1	2	No	2
90	1	1	3	No	1
56	1	1	3	No	2

ATP: Aegean-type pottery (attested or not, ? if the find is uncertainly attributable to this phase); TNoM: Total number of motifs.

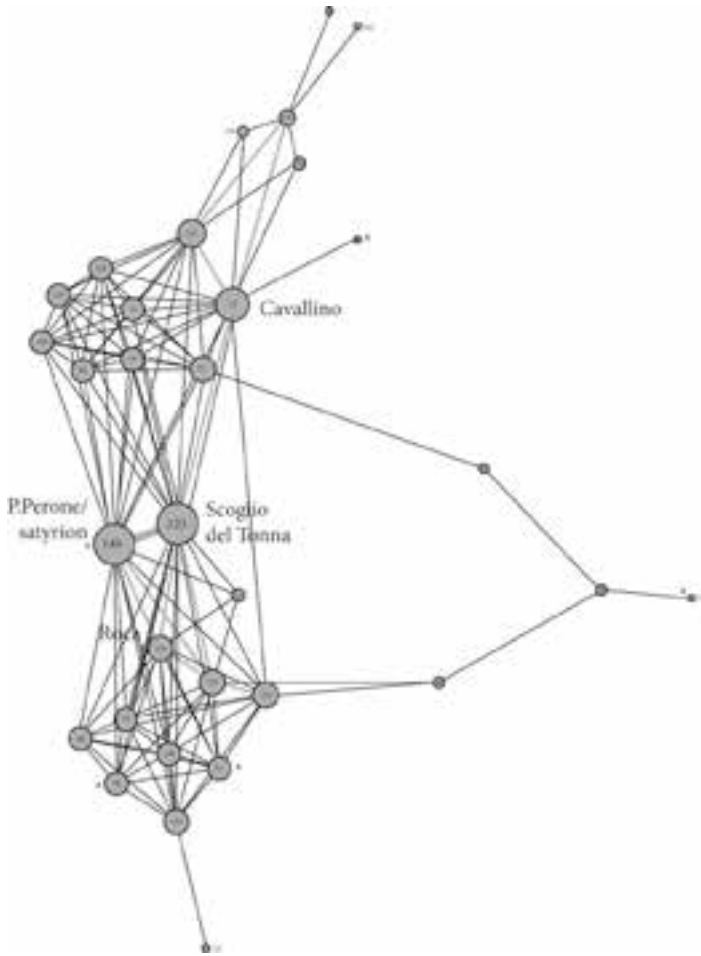


Fig. 3.11 Network representing the distribution of Protoapennine *Impasto* pottery motifs. The size of the node indicates its weighted degree (see text), while the thickness of the edges is proportional to the number of the stylistic features shared. Diamond symbols indicate sites where Aegean-type pottery has been recovered. Site names in Appendix 1.

The analysis has been subdivided into two parts according to the chronological position of the motifs. These correspond to the Protoapennine motifs (Fig. 3.11) and those exclusive to the mature Apennine phase (Fig. 3.12).

The Protoapennine network

The graph in Fig. 3.11 (values in Table 3.3) represents the network of motifs dating uniquely to the Protoapennine period. A high weighted degree characterizes sites which have a large number of motifs, such as Cavallino (no. 22) and Roca

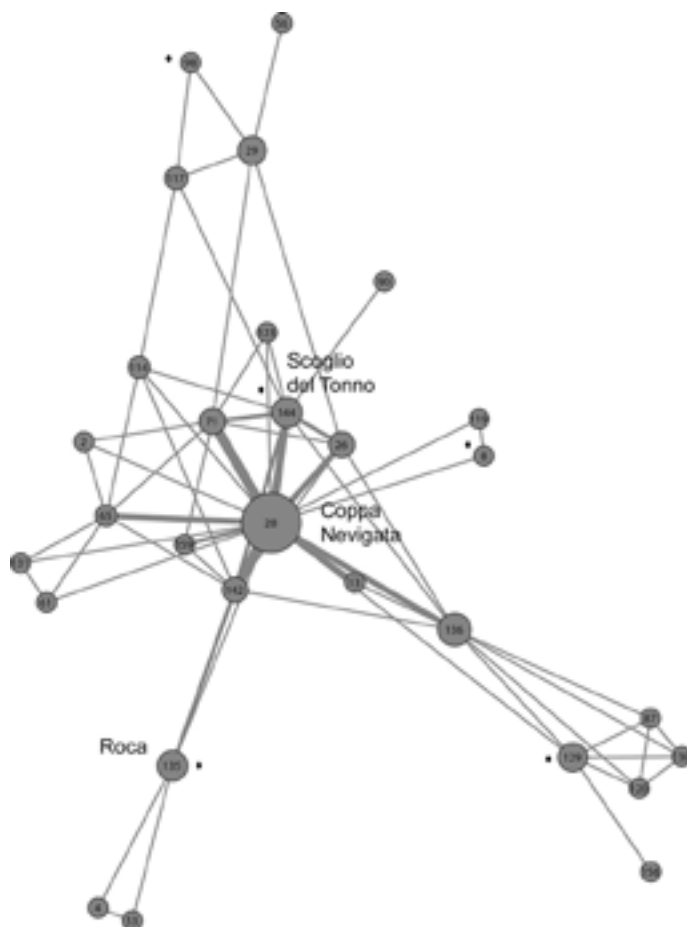


Fig. 3.12 Network representing the distribution of Apennine *Impasto* pottery motifs. The size of the node indicates its weighted degree (see text), while the thickness of the edges is proportional to the number of the stylistic features shared. Diamond symbols indicate sites where Aegean-type pottery has been recovered.

(no. 135). These are also settlements that have been most extensively and systematically explored, although interestingly they do not achieve the highest score. The site that has the highest score in terms of weighted degree is Scoglio del Tonno (no. 144). The settlement was therefore probably highly important in the network mediating the circulation of motifs on local Protoapennine pottery and therefore in the interaction underlying this. The lack of any contextual information for the site is, in this light, even more unfortunate.

It is important to note that at this time Scoglio del Tonno still does not have any trace of Aegean-type material, which are also poorly attested at the nearby

site of Porto Perone – Satyrion (no. 123, which also has a high score in terms of weighted degree).⁶ Therefore, it is extremely likely that at Scoglio del Tonno, during this period, interaction with the Aegean was, if not totally absent, at least relatively unimportant.

Taking into consideration the whole network, it can be seen that, in terms of per-site average, the weighted degree (i.e. the number of motifs shared) of sites where Aegean-type pottery is attested is greater than that of sites where it is not (Table 3.2). The examination of another measure of the network, namely modularity, that is, a group of nodes that interact more frequently among themselves than with other nodes, reveals the existence of a cluster of thirteen nodes (modularity class 1) that is made up of almost exclusively coastal sites in southern and central Apulia (the only exceptions are the inland site of Santa Maria di Ripalta [no. 142] and the near-coastal site of Madonna del Petto [no. 68], both in northern Apulia).⁷

In other words, it seems that early Aegean contact in Apulia was directed primarily at sites that had a favourable position in local networks, information that Aegean seafarers probably managed to obtain through their local intermediaries. The case of Scoglio del Tonno seems to indicate that these local interactions should *predate* the bulk of Aegean contact and are not a direct consequence of this. Also, the cluster of coastal sites identified suggests the existence of more frequent interaction between coastal sites in the central and southern areas of the region. This might have been carried out both via maritime means (through coastal navigation in the case of sites placed on the same coastline) and via movement over land.

The Apennine network

The analysis of the second graph of this series reveals that later on, in the Apennine period (i.e. during the fourteenth century BC), the network underwent dramatic changes (Fig. 3.12; Table 3.4). The settlement that has the largest score in terms of weighted degree is now Coppa Nevigata (no. 28) in the north of the region, and many of its connections seem to be based again in north and central Apulia, while the south seems to be less connected. This aspect is also mirrored in the network's modularity (Table 3.4, 'Modularity Class'), as the class in which Coppa Nevigata is included comprises only northern and central Apulian sites.

The second highest score is awarded to Scoglio del Tonno (no. 144), but the difference in Weighted Degree between this and Coppa Nevigata is substantial, considerably more than that between Scoglio and an average scoring settlement

such as Roca (135). This last site, at this time, seems to have not been particularly central in the *Impasto* pottery network. The reason for this is probably connected with the violent destruction that occurred at the site (Pagliara et al. 2007). A moment of crisis, affecting both the demographic base of the community and possibly the resources available to inhabitants, would be likely to produce a decrease in the number of births and a reduction in the incidence of marriages outside the community.

Going back to the network, motifs are now much more complex than in the past and many variants are produced. This increase in variability, however, does not seem to have been matched by an increase in the number of motifs circulating between sites. Indeed, on average, in Protoapennine times if every motif produced was shared at least nine times, then in the Apennine phase it was replicated only six times (column Average Weighted Degree [AWD] in Table 3.5).

Overall, it seems that in this period the network based on *Impasto* pottery decoration, despite the proliferation of motifs and the increase in elaboration of the same, became less dynamic. Motifs probably travelled less than before, and when they did, they remained primarily within the confines of the northern part of the region. This northern prevalence in the circulation of late Apennine motifs had been already noticed (Recchia and Ruggini 2009; Scarano 2006; 2012 speak of a completely different archaeological *facies* in the southern part of Apulia) and, to this extent, the network confirms this pattern.

Bearing this in mind, in order to better understand the relationship between local and Aegean networks, it will be necessary to compare the pattern recovered here with large-scale dynamics connecting this region with the rest of the Mediterranean.

Table 3.5 Overall measures of the MBA networks

	Total WD	No. of sites	ADPS	AWD
Protoapennine				9.12
With ATP	61	5	12.2	
Without ATP	218	24	9.08	
Apennine				6.13
With ATP	30	6	11.1	
Without ATP	145	22	4.9	

WD: Weighted Degree; ATP: Aegean-type pottery; ADPS: average degree per site; AWD: Average Weighted Degree.

The wider Mediterranean context during the Middle Bronze Age

The picture drawn so far relates primarily to interaction over the short and medium ranges. However, as we have already had the chance to glimpse, what was happening in the Adriatic was only part of a larger network encompassing much of the Mediterranean. In this section, I will broaden the horizon, addressing the wider-scale implications of the connections in which the Adriatic communities were entangled. As I have suggested, most of the evidence discussed in this section will refer to what we have defined as ‘prestige’ goods, namely goods that possessed a ‘special’ significance related to their remote origin, which, it is argued, was in some way perceived by their users. Given these considerations, and as we are to address the broader involvement of Adriatic communities and the impact made upon them, the obvious place from which to start is the other side of the sea.

Balkan and Northern Italian connections

As we saw in Chapter 2, these connections were well established and vital during the Chalcolithic-EBA. At the beginning of the subsequent Protoapennine phase, however, there seems to have been a decrease in the level of interaction attested across the Adriatic Sea. Indeed, one of the criteria identified by Cazzella (2009) for the definition of the MBA is the very absence of linkages with the other shore of the sea, most notably with respect to the Cetina phenomenon. Nevertheless, relations did not cease altogether and some traces of interaction can still be recognized.

These traces involve individual features that are recovered on both the east and the west sides of the sea. The origin of such elements is probably to be sought on the eastern Adriatic coast, as in Italy they have an extremely limited distribution (Cazzella and Moscoloni 1995). They concern ceramics of the early Dinaric, MBA culture of Novocajno, retrieved in Protoapennine contexts of Adriatic Italy. Among these features are two categories of handles, namely those with an expanded upper part shaped as a semicircular lug and those terminating with a small fan on the upper joint (Fig. 3.13, nos. 1–4, 14–20; see Cazzella and Moscoloni 1995; Čović 1989; Govedarica 1992; Recchia 2002). The first type seems to be datable to the EBA and the MBA and is attested at Coppa Nevigata throughout the whole Bronze Age, while the second starts only in the MBA (Dinara 2 period in Balkan terms) and again

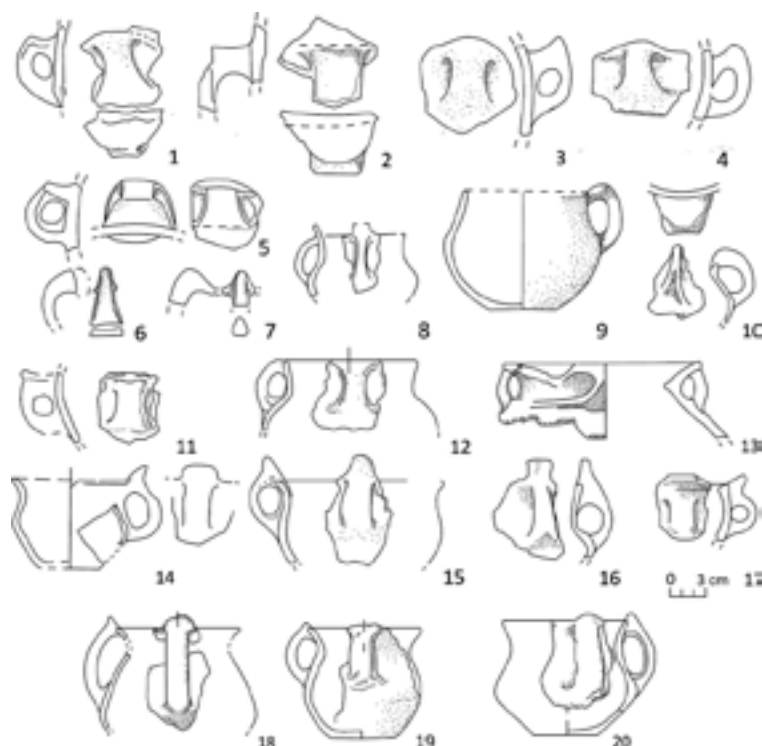


Fig. 3.13 Common features between pottery from the Balkans and northern Apulia: (1–2), (18): Coppa Nevigata; (3–4): Western Slovenia; (5–8): Torre Mileto; (9–10): Vrcin; (11–12), (14–15): Manaccora; (13), (19): Trogrl pecina; (16–17), (20): Varvara.

at Coppa is recorded only in a horizon that goes from the Protoapennine B to the early Apennine. As mentioned before, these morphological features are recorded primarily in northern Apulia in the area around the Gargano, with a high concentration in the far north (at Torre Mileto, Grotta Manaccora and other sites; see Recchia 2002; Tunzi Sisto 1995; Tunzi Sisto et al. 2010) and to the south in coastal as well as near-coastal sites such as Coppa Nevigata or Trinitapoli (Cataldo 1999: 248–249; Cazzella and Moscoloni 1995). This last site, together with other collective funerary contexts in northern Apulia such as Manaccora, was also, on the basis of parallels in metalwork (see later in the chapter), deemed a locus of interaction, particularly in the final part of the Protoapennine and early Apennine periods (Bietti Sestieri 2003: 54–55). The rich grave offerings accompanying the depositions in the *Ipogeo dei Bronzi* and in the Manaccora Cave suggest a number of long-range connections. These objects can be primarily identified in ornaments such as

rings with double spirals separated by a tubular element, which have parallels in Dalmatia and Montenegro (i.e. same type as Fig. 3.14 nos. 11, 20, 24; see Bietti Sestieri 2003; Recchia 2002; figs. 3.13, 23, Vanzetti 1999), or the small discoidal bronze studs with dotted decoration (attested also at Bisceglie and Coppa Nevigata, see Fig. 3.14 nos. 12–19 and Bietti Sestieri 2003; Cataldo 1995, pl. 37; Drechsler-Bižić 1983, pls. 37–39; Recchia 2002, fig. 3 nos. 15–21), although knives (with parallels in Albanian finds from Pathos and Midhe; see Fig. 3.14 nos. 6–8 and Vanzetti 1999, fig. 9; Korkuti 1981: 45, pl. 8; Kurti 1978: 312, pl. 2) and swords are also attested (of the Sacile and Manaccora types, the last one with parallels in Southern Hercegovina as well as Serbia; see Fig. 3.14 nos. 1–6, 9–10 and Bianco Peroni 1970: 53–54; Bietti Sestieri 2003; Peroni 1989: 346, 1999: 217; Recchia 2002, fig. 3.6–12; Tunzi Sisto 1999, pl. 2).

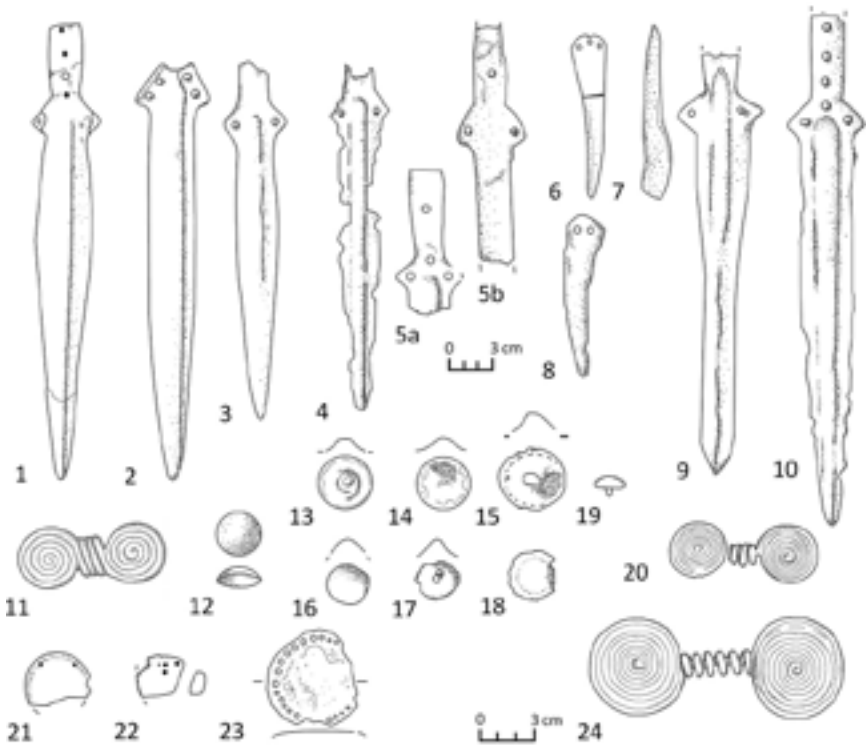


Fig. 3.14 Common metal types between the Balkans and northern Apulia: (1–5a), (11), (13–14): Manaccora; (5b), (8): Trinitapoli; (6): Midhe; (7): Pathos; (8): Ravina; (9): Joseva; (13), (16–17): Zupanovici; (14): Ocimeri; (15): Strpci; (18–19): Gucevo; (20): Planje; (24): Jarevici; (21–22): Bisceglie Dolmen; (23): Coppa Nevigata.

The Sacile-type sword (Fig. 3.14 no. 5b; see Bianco Peroni 1970: 54–57), which is also attested at Manaccora (Bianco Peroni 1970, no. 112), represents a connection with northern Italy, as the type is relatively well attested in the northern Adriatic area (i.e. at the necropolis of Olmo di Nogara and at other locales; Bianco Peroni 1970, nos. 112–18; Salzani 2005, tomb 494). Another northern connection documented in the hypogea of Trinitapoli, as well as elsewhere, is amber. Small quantities of this material, in the form of beads and even entire necklaces, were deposited in a number of funerary contexts and occasionally in settlements (Bellintani 2010a; Radina and Recchia 2006). Radina and Recchia (2006) note that the distribution of amber and other similar high-value/small-bulk materials does not coincide with that of Aegean-type pottery, and consider this tendency as the outcome of a conscious process of selection operated by Apulian populations. However, considering its likely northern origin, it is possible that amber travelled on local circuits which were distinct from those operating in the south, typically used for Aegean-type pottery. A confirmation of this hypothesis is provided by the stylistic similarities between the Apennine pottery of Coppa Nevigata and Madonna di Loreto, two sites which yielded amber finds, but no Mycenaean-style ceramics at this time (see Table 3.3).

As for the north-south connections along the Adriatic coast, decorative borrowings and distributions of Protoapennine and Apennine pottery can also sporadically support this, although often quite thinly, since, as argued before, *Impasto* pottery is an indicator more suited for identifying medium-range interactions than long-range ones. This is so for a stylized solar motif dating to the Protoapennine (Cocchi Genick et al. 1993, no. 76; Scarano 2006) and attested at Roca and two sites in Emilia Romagna (Grotta del Farneto and Monte Castellaccio). Also, for the Apennine period, a dotted circular motif (Macchiarola 1987, no. 20) from Scoglio del Tonno has a wide northern distribution, including both the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic coasts, while a crossed variant of the same (Macchiarola 1987, no. 21) is recorded again at Roca and at other locales in the Abruzzo and in the Marche region, along the central Adriatic coastline (Scarano 2006).

To sum up, although our knowledge at present suggests that the amount of interaction across the southern Adriatic might have decreased after Cetina times, a variety of indicators (primarily metalwork and, more limitedly, pottery and exotic materials such as amber) suggests the existence of some connections both from east to west between the two shores of the southern Adriatic (primarily with Dalmatia, but also with Albania), and from north to south along the Italian side of the sea (mostly with the Terramare area).

Early Aegean connections (MH to LH II)

The discussion so far has principally aimed at exploring directions of interaction other than with the Aegean. However, it cannot be stressed enough that Aegean interaction with the southern Adriatic was indeed unquestionably important, not least because the southern extremity of the Adriatic (i.e. the strait of Otranto) is an obligatory step for anyone travelling from Greece towards the west using the coasts (Coluccia and Iacono 2015). Through the timespan comprising the Italian MBA (Protoapennine and Apennine), corresponding to LH I to LH IIIA2 in Aegean terms, and what is normally referred to in the Italian literature with the generic term of 'Mycenaean', the Aegean world underwent a series of historical and social phases. It is important to bear this in mind. Here is obviously not the place to review the details of the social and political developments in such a large area over such a long period. But, in brief, it is possible to safely enough assert that in the early horizon (late Middle Helladic [MH] to LH I–II, corresponding to the so-called Shaft Grave period), most of the polities of the Aegean (with the exclusion of Neopalatial Crete) that could have come into contact with the west, as well as with the east, Mediterranean were only petty chiefdoms, where a number of elite clans competed locally over the control of resources (Dickinson 1977; 1989; Pullen 2011; Voutsaki 1995, 2010, 2016; Wright 2010). Burial display, feasting and gift-exchange of prestige goods (and the related restriction of their circulation to specific individuals/groups) constituted the main grounds for competition among local lineages (Graziadio 1991; Pullen 2011; Voutsaki 1997; Wright 2004), and, given this, the early interest of mainland communities in long-range exchange is in no way surprising.

The earliest evidence of Aegean-type material in Southern Italy dates to the LH I/Protoapennine period (Bettelli 2002: 58–59, Jung 2013). The existence of older connections with the Aegean world has been often suggested, even recently, by various scholars (i.e. Castellana 2000; Vianello 2005: 46). However, all of these ceramic indicators of the MH 'tradition' (i.e. burnished and Minyan wares) that have been used to argue for MH linkages can actually endure, normally into LH IIIA (Graziadio 2000; Guglielmino 2013; Merkouri 2010; Mountjoy 1993: 33).

When interaction started, the geographical range with proof of contacts was already extremely wide, extending beyond Apulia and encompassing parts of coastal Sicily, the Aeolian and Phlegraean Islands, and perhaps stretching south to Pantelleria (see Fig. 3.15; Bietti Sestieri 1988; Marazzi 1994; Marazzi and Tusa 2005; Vagnetti 1982: 15–18). With such an extensive distribution, the

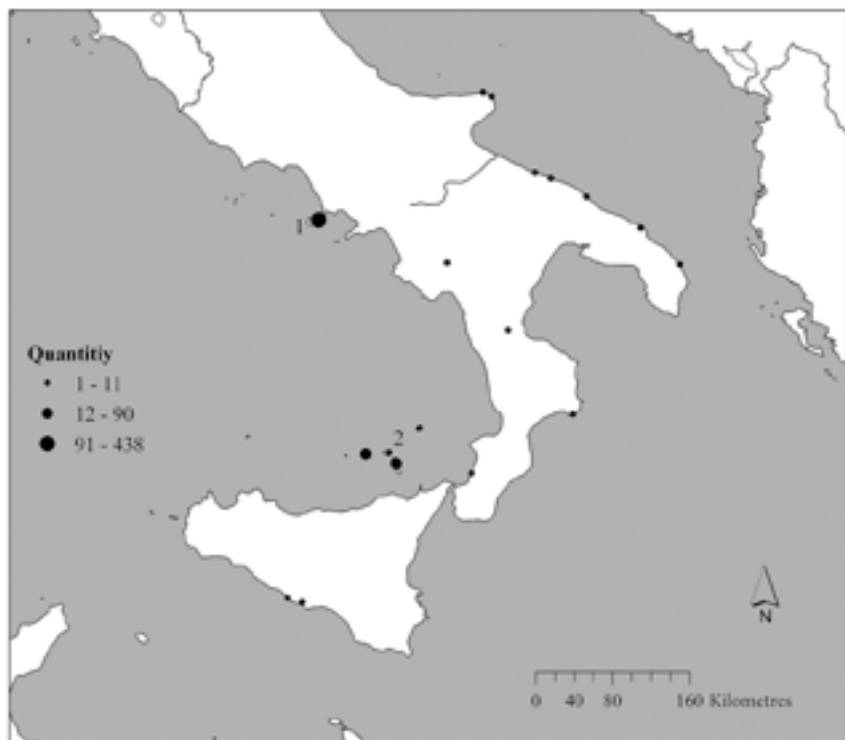


Fig. 3.15 Sites in the central Mediterranean that yielded material related to interaction with the Aegean world dating to LH I–II. The map includes pottery and other items.

Adriatic area can hardly be considered a frontier. There is also a relatively wide spacing between sites with Aegean material and the like, with the exception of the Aeolian Islands and a cluster of sites in western Sicily. What we see is a rather fragmented picture, where individual find-spots are somewhat isolated, and so fail to demonstrate a closely integrated whole.

It has long been acknowledged that in this period the ‘hot spot’ for western interaction with the Aegean is the Tyrrhenian Sea area (see Section ‘The prelude to Late Bronze Age interaction’ and Bietti Sestieri 1988; Graziadio 1998; Marazzi 1988). Tusa (1994) identifies different phases in the development of this interaction: first contact with the Aegean was through the Aeolian Islands; then connections with the southern Tyrrhenian coast became more direct. Vivara (Fig. 3.15 no. 1) represents a key site in this sense and indeed has one of the largest assemblages of Aegean-type material of this period (Panichelli

and Re 1994). Occupation at the site seems to be connected to a degree with metallurgical activities and a possible interest in the exploitation of sulphur (La Rosa 2005; Marazzi 1994). At this site, north-east Peloponnesian (also perhaps Aeginetan) imports and influence have been identified (Jones and Levi 2014: 200–203; Merkouri 2010), possibly dating to between LH I and LH IIA (Jung 2013: 237). Among the finds are a number of cryptic objects often defined in the literature as tokens or roundels. These are basically potsherds whose irregular shape has been rounded through abrasion: they are assumed to have been in use as mnemonic devices for simple accounting operations. This hypothesis rests mostly on vaguely similar devices recovered in the Aegean, which are often inscribed and/or bear seal impressions (Hallager 1987; Hallager and Weingarten 1993; Mammina and Marazzi 1994). Although this premise is possible, the high number of examples retrieved (about 700), the variability in their shape (the typological classes identified at Vivara cover about every variant on the sub-circular imaginable; see Mammina and Marazzi 1994: 128) and the apparent lack of any relation between complete tokens and their (supposed) fractions sound a warning. Perhaps other, less sophisticated, explanations for these items should be envisaged (i.e. they might have been used as a sort of soft scraper).

Returning to the general picture, a consolidated view, which despite some nuancing (Graziadio 2000; Marazzi 1994) can largely still be held as valid, recognizes an east-west ‘divide’ in Aegean interaction during early LH times. According to this perspective, while the Levant was of interest primarily to Crete, the central and western parts of the Mediterranean represent the principal locus of direct (i.e. not mediated by Crete) interaction by proto- and early Mycenaean seafarers from the then emerging mainland polities (Graziadio 1998). This view is grounded in the observation that the quantity and distribution of early LH material, broadly construed, is substantially smaller in the eastern Mediterranean than in the west, as well as there being a lack of Cretan imports of that date from Italy (Leonard 1994; Marazzi 1994; Van Wijngaarden 2002: 116, 261).

Early Aegean-type assemblages were quite varied, mirroring the nature of early LH assemblages in Greece (Merkouri 2010). Provenance analyses related to this early material suggest that in the overwhelming majority of cases pottery was imported rather than locally imitated (for an overview, see Jones et al. 2014). Numerous different classes of materials have been identified, but the terminology adopted by scholars often tends to overlap and there is a lot of conceptual indeterminacy in the categories generated (usefully reviewed by Guglielmino 2013; see also Cavalier and Vagnetti 1983; Jones et al. 2014: 417).

They include different kinds of Minyan and Burnished products; with these pottery classes are also standard LH I and II Lustrous Decorated examples, that is standard Mycenaean pottery. This category of material is plentiful in the Aeolian Islands, with abundant find-spots at Lipari (about seventy-three vessels/finds) and Filicudi (twenty-five vessels/finds), and minor concentrations at Salina and, as recently recognized, also at Stromboli (Bettelli et al. 2011; Taylour 1980; Vianello 2005: 123).

At Lipari (Fig. 3.15 no. 2) in particular, which is one of the main sites for western Mediterranean interaction in this phase, Aegean-type pottery is exceptionally abundant. The evidence from this settlement is particularly important as, unlike Vivara and Monte Grande⁸ (and partially also Filicudi) where much of the material was either erratic or in secondary deposition, the context of deposition was relatively good (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980; Cavalier and Vagnetti 1984). On the acropolis (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980), Aegean-type material was associated with Capo Graziano and Milazzese local pottery (dating from the end of the local EBA to the MBA) in the occupation level of several relatively small buildings. The overall assemblage of Lustrous Decorated pottery dating to LH I–II is fairly rich, encompassing a variety of functions with a clear prevalence of tableware and, most notably, cups (see Fig. 3.16; data after Cavalier and Vagnetti 1984; Vianello 2005: 128–129).

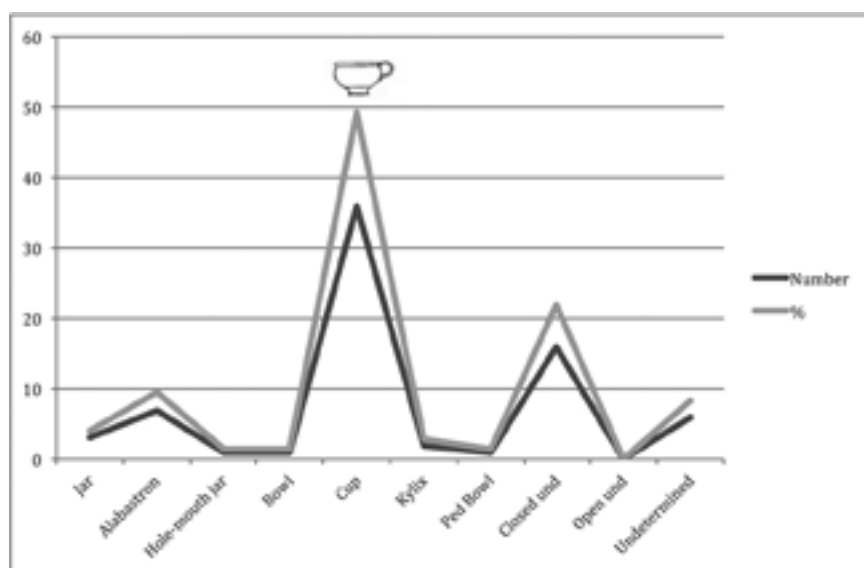


Fig. 3.16 Assemblage of Aegean-type material at Lipari.

The in-depth analysis by Van Wijngaarden of the distribution of Aegean-type material in all the excavated trenches indicates that it does not seem to have been restricted to a particular area of the settlement, although some dwellings might have had more material than others (Van Wijngaarden 2002: 210–217). Van Wijngaarden's interpretation has been recently questioned by Alberti (2017), who has suggested that some of the huts at Lipari were not houses, but rather storage shelters. Such a distinction, however, appears problematic. For one thing, the evidence for food processing and storage that Alberti ascribes to the utilitarian structures are the very same activities that are often used to define a domestic structure. Moreover, apart from smaller average size of the putative shelters, there are no evident differences in construction between the two, which, again, would have been expected if one type was used as a dwelling and the other only for production activities. This is not to downplay the systematic association between non-Aegean-type ceramics and the smaller structures (interpreted as 'utilitarian') as identified by Alberti (2017: 325). Accordingly, one indeed might suggest some form of social/activity specialization for the huts at Lipari (Doonan 2001).

Within this overall picture, despite Apulia's geographic centrality, only minor quantities of Aegean-type pottery seem to have found their way to its Adriatic and Ionian regions. Whatever subclass of material is taken into consideration, the average find-spot in Protoapennine Apulia yields a handful of sherds/finds (e.g. at Roca, Guglielmino 1996, no. 1)⁹ accompanied by an occasional small-bulk exotic (such as glass, for example, at Manaccora; Baumgartel 1953: 22).

To sum up, the picture offered by early (LH I–II) Aegean interactions to the west of Greece is extremely variable. There are areas with a relatively extensive evidence of contact (the Aeolian and Phlegrean archipelagos), while others have only minimal traces (the rest of southern Italy). Some sites (such as Lipari) already seem to play major roles as communication nodes with the Aegean.

Early palatial connections (LH IIIA)

The subsequent phase, corresponding to LH IIIA (Apennine/MBA3 in Italy), sees the Aegean (Mycenaean) world now fully transformed into a tributary society. Both public and private buildings were constructed in the main palatial centres on the mainland (mostly on the remains of smaller earlier buildings) and the Mycenaean palace, as a structure with all its elaborations (megaron,

citadel and stores), experienced now its first full development (see Burns 2007; Maran 2006; Shelmerdine 1997: 541–548; Shelton 2010). The earliest Linear B archives also date back to this period, with the tablet recently recovered at the site of Iklaina in Messenia and that from the Petsas house at Mycenae (see Shelton 2002; Skelton 2008). At Knossos, the destruction of the palace, probably occurring before the end of LH IIIA, followed a period during which the site was particularly prominent and the first use of Linear B on Crete is attested (Bevan 2010; Driessen 1990).¹⁰

Linear B archives from various sites in Mycenaean Greece comprised accounting documents related to the palaces and the acquisition and management of their surplus (Duhoux and Morpurgo-Davies 2008, 2011; Killen 2015). These suggest a fairly articulated institutional structure with a possibly religious king (*wa-na-ka*, Palaima 2006), a military chief (*ra-wa-ke-ta*; Nikoloudis 2008) and a series of subordinates and sub-elites (among the others *ba-si-re-u*, *e-qe-ta* and the so-called collectors; Killen 2015: 87–99; Palaima 2006; Rougemont 1998), whose specific functions and relative positions in the internal hierarchies are much debated.

LH IIIA corresponds to the period in which direct trade networks connecting the Aegean world seem to have reached their widest longitudinal extension, both to the east, including most of the coastal Levantine area (Jung 2015; Van Wijngaarden 2002: 31–124), and to the west, stretching as far north as Luni sul Mignone in Latium and as far west as Decimoputzu in Sardinia (Vagnetti 1999a; Vagnetti and Poplin 2005).

The most eloquent example of this maritime momentum is undoubtedly the cargo associated with the wreck of Uluburun (dating to an already-advanced phase of the palatial system in the Aegean), recovered not far from Kaş on the southern coast of Turkey (Pulak 2008, 2010), where thousands of items, both finished products and raw materials with disparate origins, were probably connected with some sort of royal gift exchange (Bachhuber 2006, but see also Monroe 2010). Despite this undoubted intensification, the picture as revealed by the LH IIIA (Fig. 3.17) network to the west is still one of regional segmentation. Aegean connections did not incorporate the whole set of nodes in a unitary ‘trade circuit’, but rather each site was embedded in a number of micro-networks where the local component was probably of foremost importance and in which the presence of Aegean ‘actors’ was perhaps needed only at a single node in a segment.

The Adriatic seascape is characterized by essential continuity, but new trends seem to be recognizable further west. In particular, eastern Sicily became one



Fig. 3.17 Sites in the central Mediterranean that yielded material related to interaction with the Aegean world dating to LH IIIA. They include pottery and other items.

of the main focal areas for Aegean contact. Local pottery defining this phase (i.e. Thapsos pottery), although technologically dissimilar in fundamental ways (it was handmade, using non-levigated clays), has been seen as potentially influenced by the development of Mycenaean decoration (D'Agata 2000), and indeed a complex process of appropriation and rejection of selected cultural features can be suggested (Russell 2017). In the *Siracusano*, that is, the core region of the Thapsos culture, according to a proposal (D'Agata 1997; Palio 2004; *contra* Castellana 2000: 166), the transition from the late EBA (Castelluccian) to the MBA (Thapsos culture) was accompanied by the creation of a number of fortified settlement/outposts (at Petraro and possibly at Thapsos), and perhaps by warfare between local communities. As for the chronology of these developments, some of the connections originally considered as with the Tarxien cemetery phase in Malta may actually represent a late development of

the Cetina phenomenon (i.e. at Siracusa). It is therefore possible that the region was experiencing a complex phenomenon (over a long duration, and with the possible presence of internecine warfare) similar to that occurring later on in Adriatic Italy during Protoapennine times (Cazzella 2009).

The site of Thapsos (Figs. 3.18 and 3.17 no. 1, from which the culture takes its name) constituted probably one of the main nodes now for interaction with the Aegean world. It represents a fairly rare example within Mediterranean archaeology, in that both settlement and funerary evidence is available and both have produced Aegean-type pottery. Sadly, the early date of the excavation of most of the large cemeteries of rock-cut tombs (Fig. 3.18), at the end of the nineteenth century AD, as well as the incomplete information available for the

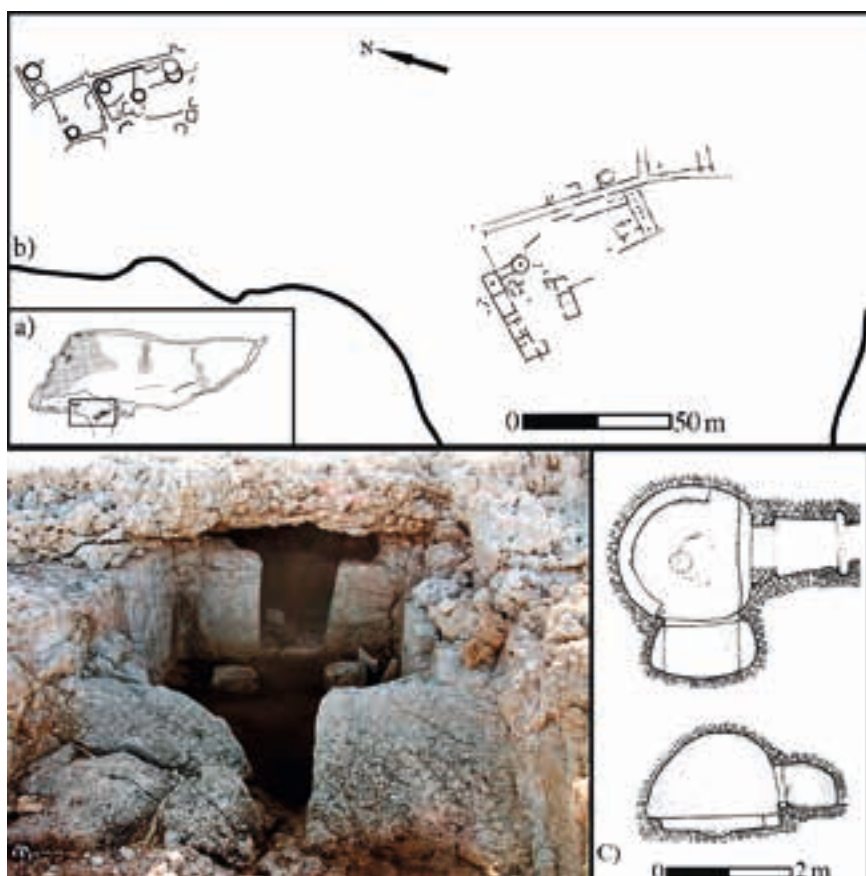


Fig. 3.18 Thapsos: (a, b) settlement, area with circular huts and with quadrangular buildings; (c, d) rock-cut chamber tomb.

excavation of the settlement have severely limited the information potential of this important site (see Alberti 2007 with further bibliography; Leighton 1999: 150–157, 2015; Orsi 1895; Voza 1972, 1973, 1985; Van Wijngaarden 2002: 230). The cemetery at Thapsos yielded thirty-eight Mycenaean vessels, all well preserved, that according to recent provenance analyses are largely imports from the Peloponnese (Jones et al. 2014). Closed shapes were by far more popular than open ones, with a peculiar predilection for small piriform jars, and, on the basis of contextual analysis of associations, these imported vessels were probably employed in various strategies of status differentiation (Alberti 2006; Van Wijngaarden 2002: 226–232, 386). As for the settlement, according to the excavator (Voza 1972, 1973) two main phases can be recognized: one characterized by circular huts and a later one with quadrangular buildings of several rooms and organized along roads. The chronology of these two phases has been the subject of much discussion (Voza 1985), but according to recent analyses (based on a detailed examination of both funerary and settlement finds from Thapsos itself, as well as from other sites), possibly the use of the circular huts and quadrangular buildings was, at least for a spell, contemporary, and started in LH IIIA (Alberti 2007).

Militello (2004) identifies specific Cypro-Levantine influences within the plans of the quadrangular buildings (in particular with the site of Pyla Kokkinokremos on Cyprus), suggesting the presence of architects coming from this area. Cypro-Levantine influence is possibly present in Sicily during this period, being attested also by sparse Cypriot finds (including both Base Ring II and White Shaved pottery and metalwork), both at Thapsos itself, as well as Siracusa and the site of Cannatello, near Agrigento (Alberti 2008; Russell and Knapp 2017). This last settlement was also an important node in the Aegean connection with Sicily: some forty-two vessels have been recovered in its occupation layers (De Miro 1996; Deorsola 1996). As at Thapsos, closed shapes are better represented than open ones. This pattern of preference appears to be particularly significant in the light of the contextual difference between Thapsos and Cannatello; that is, in the first case material came from a cemetery, while in the second from a settlement (Vianello 2005: 163–165, 112–114). In other words, although micro-regional differences may play an important role, it seems as if the predilection for closed shapes and therefore, most likely, their contents was a fairly widespread feature of this period.

The same prevalence for closed shapes can be recognized at Scoglio del Tonno (Fig. 3.17 no. 2). During LH IIIA this site followed a very different trajectory with regard to Aegean interaction than the rest of Apulia. Previously, evidence for

contacts had included only a few potsherds scattered within occupational layers of huts and (even more rarely) vessels deposited as grave goods. In this period, the rich and relatively homogeneous corpus of ceramic material coming to light in this Ionian centre seems to represent a new chapter. Its exceptional nature has led many scholars to follow Taylour's claim of a Mycenaean colony at the site (Hallager 1985 with references; Taylour 1958: 128–131). However, Protoapennine occupation is indisputably present and is witnessed at the site by local *Impasto* pottery, while Aegean-type material is attested only from the final phase of LH IIIA, that is, LH IIIA2 (Fisher 1988). A group of piriform jars belonging to this phase represents the earliest Aegean-type material from the site (Fisher 1988, nos. 1–18, 20, 43–46). These are certainly transport containers – though extremely refined and decorated ones – as are stirrup jars, the spouted vessels normally containing oil (Fisher 1988, nos. 50, 54). Therefore, given that they are mostly imported, their presence has to be connected with the trafficking of their contents, among which were arguably organic products such as oil.

This new trend is not, however, attested at Roca, where no preference for closed shapes is shown. The diverse set of materials here contains items hinting at different kinds of traditions. A cup (Fig. 3.19) is possibly decorated with motifs (FM 24 linked whorl shell and triton) better attested on Minoan pottery, although not completely absent in other areas (see, for example, Mountjoy 1999: 973, no. 7). The vessel actually embodies a pastiche of features

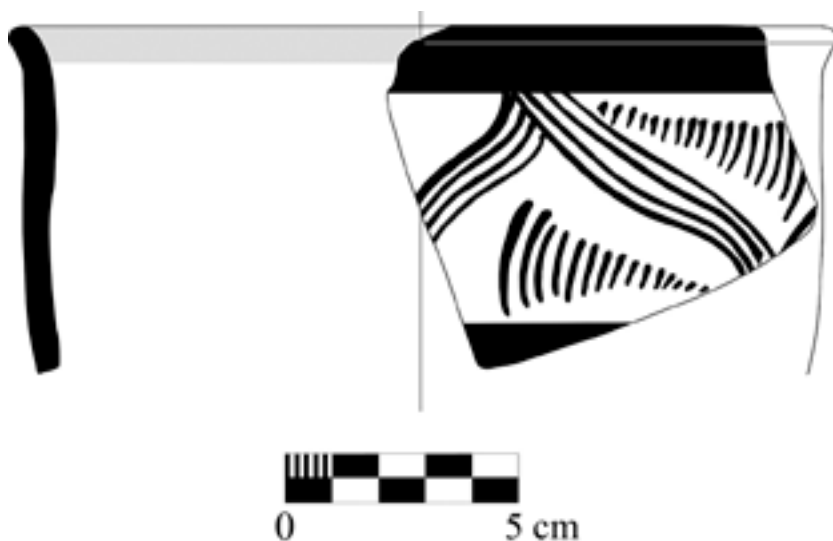


Fig. 3.19 Local LM IIIA cup from Roca.

from different areas. While its decoration seems to point towards Crete, the deep bowl of the vessel is a rather unusual characteristic for LM IIIA pottery, being more in tune with coeval development in the Mycenaean world (Kanta 1980: 258; Popham 1965: 319). Given this hybridity, it is interesting to note that chemical analyses suggest it is a local production (Guglielmino et al. 2010: 274–275, no. 74). This isolated specimen may represent the earliest local manufacture of Aegean-type material at Roca and indeed one of the earliest such in the central Mediterranean (the only earlier example being the possible fragments of wheel-turned burnished pottery from Vivara; see Jones 1994: 303–313). This ceramic vase is not the only instance of technological transmission of this kind in the central Mediterranean at this time. Further local production that entailed the use of the potter's wheel, and therefore a technological transfer not dissimilar from that implied by Aegean-type material, is to be assigned to this period. This concerns Grey Ware, a grey wheel-thrown pottery with a shape repertoire close to that of the *Impasto* production. Starting at Broglio di Trebisacce and Porto Perone, this became much more widespread in the subsequent Subapennine and Protovillanovan phases (Belardelli 1994; Guglielmino 2013).

Overall, during LH IIIA (or the Apennine period), although there are still many sites which continued to present patterns of consumption of Aegean-type pottery similar to those of the previous periods, the role of the main nodes within the networks of interaction with the Aegean, some of them at new locations, seems to have now increased. These main nodes are located mostly in the Tyrrhenian area, as well as in eastern Sicily, leaving the only major centre in the southern Italian mainland at Scoglio del Tonno.

The Middle Bronze Age Adriatic society and its connections: Modes of Production and Interaction

Piecing together the Adriatic community

In this section I will pull together the evidence so far described, spelling out what I have defined in the first chapter as the Modes of Production and Interaction. The settlement pattern discussed in some details (see Section 'The individual community during the Middle Bronze Age' and Recchia and Ruggini 2009) reveals a picture in continuous evolution, involving two extremes of occupation – small hamlets dispersed in the landscape and more

nucleated, long-lasting settlements, interestingly located mostly (though not exclusively) on the coast. Despite the existence of the latter, it can be safely asserted that during Protoapennine and Apennine times the southern Adriatic was populated by communities relatively small in size, averaging 3–5 hectares.

As suggested by Recchia (2008), the ‘snapshot’ provided by the group tragically killed during the destruction of the fortifications at Roca can provide a model of the family or, more broadly, the unit of co-residence inside the Adriatic community (seven people: two adults and five children, a relatively large nuclear family, or some other form of kin grouping). This also fluctuated seasonally according to the needs of food production. The analysis of the archaeobotanical remains, however, does not suggest the need for an extensive workforce. Wheat and barley were the predominant crops, while the use of legumes, although attested since Neolithic, becomes more evident only at a later (Recent and Final Bronze Age) time (Primavera et al. 2017). But again, there are no hints in the archaeological record that the scale of these activities was particularly large. Although, on the basis of material from Coppa Nevigata, some scholars (i.e. Cazzella and Recchia 2009) have suggested the inception, already in this phase, of intensive agricultural practices like oil production, yet even so (and if so) they seem to have been fairly limited (Primavera et al. 2017). The analysed sherds from Coppa (Evans and Recchia 2003) prove only the *existence* of oil there: it is not impossible that this substance, instead of being produced locally, was one of the goods being circulated by Aegean seafarers or their intermediaries.¹¹ The main strategy in the diversification of food production during MBA3 seems to have entailed the use of tree fruits and acorns, and was possibly aimed at counteracting worsening climatic conditions (Fiorentino 2010; Primavera et al. 2017). The consumption of the latter makes particular sense in a landscape that was still largely forested, as Apulia still was. The exploitation of wild species is also well attested by the animal bones and shells. Although domesticates were undoubtedly predominant, the exploitation of wild animals still contributed, on average, between 20 and 30 per cent of the remains dating to Protoapennine and Apennine contexts (see Fig. 3.20; data from De Grossi-Mazzorin 2010). These encompassed species that were traditionally hunted, such as deer, as well as small game easy to procure, such as land tortoises, and, finally, marine animals (mostly, but not only shellfish; see De Grossi-Mazzorin 2010; Wilkens 1998). Such a variable range of food production with a strong component of hunting probably did not necessitate complex coordination strategies for the mobilization of the workforce.

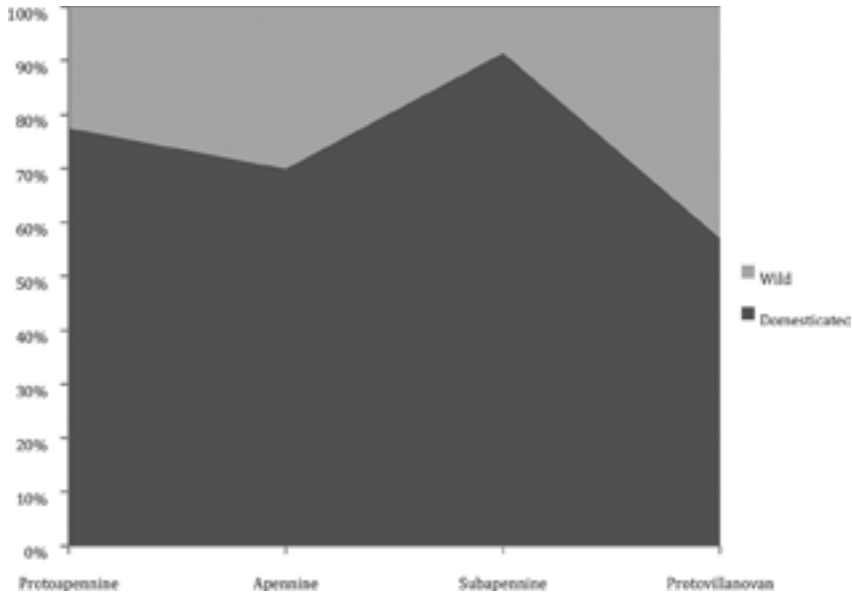


Fig. 3.20 Percentage of wild versus domesticated animal resources during the Apulian Bronze Age (data after De Grossi-Mazzorin 2010).

Overall, the general picture suggests that in the Protoapennine and Apennine southern Adriatic there was not much opportunity for creating an agricultural surplus. The region though was not completely homogeneous, and in some more fortunate areas it is possible to detect the triggering of embryonic processes of accumulation. This is probably the case in the area of the Tavoliere (Fig. 3.21), from Trinitapoli up until the Siponto area, where Coppa Nevigata is located. Here, the large productive potential of the area (well renowned since antiquity, as well as nowadays) should have created the conditions for a population increase, as is indeed suggested by the fact that a relatively large number of sites have been identified, even though no systematic surveys have been focused on the Bronze Age presence.

Difference in local connectivity

The network analysis of the Apennine pottery has shown that the sites belonging to this area were well interconnected, although overall the amount of ‘diversity’ seems to surpass the number of connections (i.e. the motifs produced in total are considerably more numerous than those of them shared with other

the pattern produced by the network analysis may be read, in the case of Coppa Nevigata for instance, as indicating a fairly rich agrarian village with a relatively low incidence of exogamy (many motifs were produced but fewer were shared). Northern Apulian communities were probably able, through marital alliances and mechanisms of bride-payment and dowry (Ensor 2013: 209–15; Friedman and Rowlands 1977), to gather a certain amount of surplus that was funnelled into interactions with Balkan communities on the other side of the Adriatic, as attested by the connections present in both metal and pottery production. These again might also have been articulated through intermarriages and limited economic transactions, as well as through the movement of individuals or small groups for reasons not easy to identify now.

Given these considerations, it is possible to understand the important role played by two smaller areas placed at the spaces existing between the Tavoliere and other territorial zones. The first is Manfredonia and Coppa Nevigata, to the north, at the obvious junction with the maritime-oriented Gargano area, through which probably most of the interactions with the Balkans were mediated (Recchia 2002). The second is Trinitapoli, where the hypogea of S. Ferdinando and Madonna di Loreto are situated (Tunzi Sisto 1999). The site is positioned nearby the hilly Murge area to the south, which probably had a lower agricultural potential but plenty of other resources, among which were surely wool and other secondary animal products. The south was also more favourably located geographically with respect to Mediterranean trade networks, which were arguably the reason for the large number of exotica present in the *Ipogeo dei Bronzi* and *degli Avori* that are not connected to the Balkans. Among these are Pertosa swords, similar (although not identical; see Bettelli 2006) to objects found in the cargo of the Uluburun shipwreck (Bettelli 2002: 133), as well as some faience beads (Bellintani 2010b). The relatively high level of continuity expressed at Trinitapoli (for about 250 years; see Peroni 1999) suggests that here perhaps the process of capital accumulation had already started to transform local emerging kin group into something akin to the so-called *chiefly lineage* described by Friedman and Rowlands (1977), which represents the first step towards the institutionalization of power relations that are the defining feature of a tributary society. This transformation and the related process of concentration of power are not likely to have gone unopposed by neighbouring communities: the elite of Trinitapoli had probably to resort to violence in order to defend its rights/privileges. This circumstance, rather than the practice of unspecified piratical activities as suggested by Bietti Sestieri (2003), is more likely to provide a credible explanation for the important role played by martial

symbolism in the funerary ritual attested in the *Ipogeo dei Bronzi*. This same process of transformation may have triggered in nearby communities elements of ‘cultural resistance’: perhaps the start of a cremation cemetery (a ritual remarkably different from the inhumation practised at the hypogea) at the nearby site of Pozzillo during the Apennine period can be explained in these terms.

So some surplus, it would seem, was being accumulated, and, at least in the north, this was probably connected with interaction. The importance of this arrival of goods, however, must not be overemphasized. Their overall volume coming from the Balkans, as well as the limited scope of their diffusion in Italy, indicates the overall limited scale of this phenomenon. It should be remembered here that the Adriatic Islands, the ‘bridge’ between the eastern and western shores of the sea (see Section ‘The prelude to Late Bronze Age interaction’), continue to be without a trace of occupation in the MBA. This deficiency can be explained in two ways. One is that a more efficient maritime technology, that is, sailing, was already present in the central Mediterranean at this stage and that this made island hopping from one shore to the other of the Adriatic unnecessary. However, there is little (if any) evidence for this advance in the Adriatic, which is to say there are no shipwrecks or vessel representations dating to this period suggesting the local adoption of such technology.¹³ Furthermore, contact with groups which already had the sail (and thus that could potentially have transferred the necessary know-how) was limited (at least at the beginning of the MBA). A more likely alternative is that the flow of people and/or goods making the crossing was so intermittent and transient as not to leave any recognizable trace on the islands during this period.

Further development of surplus accumulation in northern Apulia, however, was probably limited because of the inception and growth in intensity of Aegean trade to the south, which put into a wider circulation that resident capital that would have been otherwise kept to feed local competition.

Reconstructing MBA encounters

On the basis of the sparse attestation of related archaeological evidence, early Aegean encounters with the central Mediterranean at the start seem to have been mainly not deliberately planned ones: they likely occurred by chance by people on their way towards the Aeolian Islands, which were probably then the main aim of these expeditions. The procurement of raw materials is indeed likely to have constituted one of the chief rationales for these early long-range

voyages. These materials might have included substances as different as copper, sulphur and alum, and for all of these we have clear confirmation of their importance for the Aegean world in the Linear B record (La Rosa 2005; Michailidou 2008; Perna 2005). As for interactions with Southern Italy, my suspicion is that goods connected with textile production might have been even more important than metals. The cultural and economic importance of textiles is a much-neglected aspect in prehistory and early history that only recently has begun to attract the attention it deserves (i.e. Burke 2010; Cutler 2013; Gleba 2007). To give an idea of the general historical importance of textiles, suffice it here to note that the whole of the eighteenth-century AD industrial revolution was fundamentally based on textile production. In a society as competitive and profoundly imbued by Minoan 'fashion' as was mainland Greece during the Shaft Grave period, the use of elaborate textiles probably constituted a ubiquitous (as well as immediate and effective) aggrandizing strategy (Graziadio 1991; Wright 1995).

The ways through which proto- and Early Mycenaean seafarers came to know about the existence of, for instance, alum resources in the far-off Tyrrhenian Sea regions are difficult to assess. One possible answer is that early voyagers were aware of the connection existing in nature between the occurrence of obsidian and alum, on the basis of the existence of the same on the known island of Melos (McNulty and Hall 2001; Pittinger 1975). Since obsidian was still used in Protoapennine times in Apulia (e.g. at Cavallino as well as at Bisceglie; see Cataldo 1995; Pancrazzi 1979: 27), and was a still important component of the stone tool equipment in Mycenaean Greece (Parkinson 2007), it is plausible that this was the uniting thread that led Aegean ships towards the Tyrrhenian Sea in the first instance, possibly with the help/guidance of local partners.

Alongside the cloth industry and textile-related goods is probably to be placed the production of purple dye, or *po-pu-re-ja*, according to the Linear B tablets (Palaima 1991; Burke 2006). Its processing at the site of Coppa Nevigata is attested at a surprisingly early period dating to the eighteenth century BC (only slightly later than the earliest attestation on eastern Crete dating to MM IB-IIA; see Cazzella et al. 2005; Brogan et al. 2012). This substance also probably constituted a feature in common between the northern network previously described and the early Mycenaean trade to the south. In this respect, it is not coincidental that the purple dye production is either attested or hinted at on those sites with evident traces of interaction with the Aegean world, such as Scoglio del Tonno, Scalo di Furno or Roca – all sites that probably mediated the circulation of this good to the south and to the east (Guglielmino 2008). With respect to the purple dye at

Coppa Nevigata, I do not see any specific reason why the production had to be limited to the dye itself and not have entailed the realization of finished textiles. Indeed, northern Apulia possessed all the resources required to accomplish the whole cycle, from salt that was necessary in the production of the dye (as reported by Pliny *Nat. Hist.* IX, 62) and that was produced nearby at Vasche Napoletane (Tunzi Sisto 1999: 133) through to wool that was probably readily available at the site, as well as through exchange with the communities of the Daunian Sub-Apennine mountains. A clue to the possible existence in northern Apulia of elaborate textiles (that might have even been deemed precious exotica in the distant Mycenaean world) is perhaps recognizable in the complex band motifs often present on late Apennine pottery (Fig. 3.22).¹⁴

The communities with which early Aegean seafarers came into contact during their travel to the west were profoundly different in nature. In the Tyrrhenian Sea

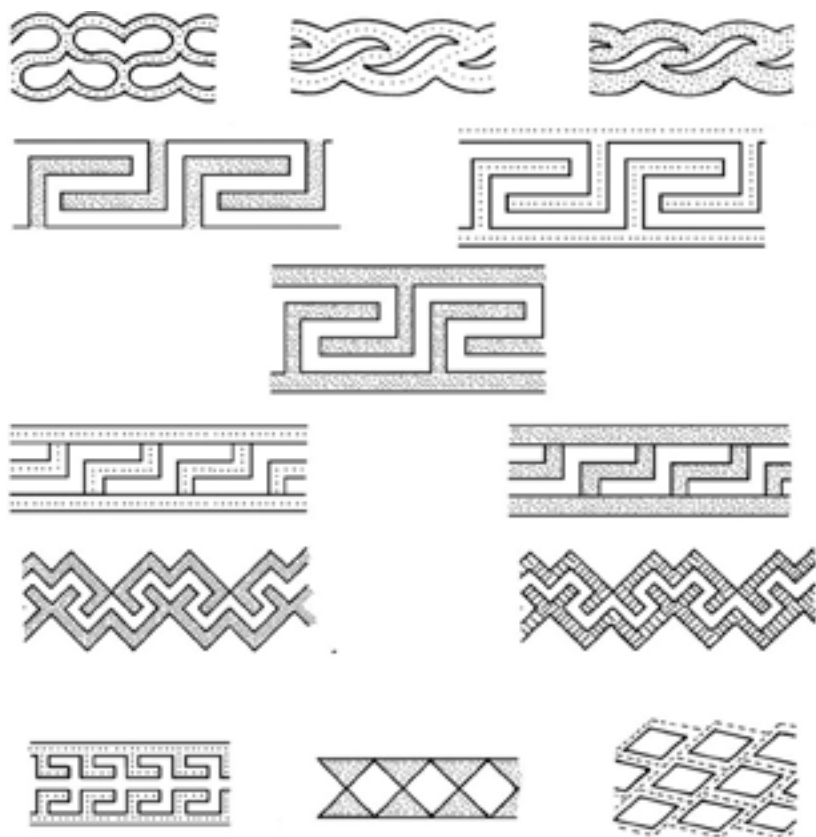


Fig. 3.22 Complex band motifs on late Apennine pottery.

area, they encountered the Capo Graziano and (later on) Milazzese communities of the Aeolian Islands. Because of the early importance of the archipelago in the obsidian trade, these were, fundamentally, maritime cultures for which seagoing had been a well-established activity since Neolithic times. There is extensive evidence which confirms this during the second millennium BC: from the small cargo of ceramics recovered at Pignataro di Fuori (and likely belonging to a boat) dating to the Capo Graziano (EBA) period (Bernabò Brea 1985), to the continuous relations between the islands, Sicily and Italy (both the southern and, to a more limited extent, central parts; see Fragnoli 2011; Martinelli et al. 2010; Tusa 1994). Things appear to have been rather different in Apulia where, having at their disposal a relatively large extent of cultivable land, local MBA communities were surely not so maritime-prone as their Tyrrhenian equivalents.

This observation is, to some extent, an oversimplification. Before the accusation of geographic determinism is raised, it is necessary to note that the actual picture was probably more varied and nuanced. The network analysis for Protoapennine Apulia has clearly drawn attention to a subgroup of sites identified by intense interaction and located on the coast, mostly in the south (which has also less arable land than the north). Among these were also some of the principal settlements in the region, according to the network of the distribution of Protoapennine and Apennine motifs on *Impasto* pottery. Interestingly, many of these central sites were also among the first to be reached by early Aegean seafarers. In other words, communities that were included in the Aegean network during the MBA coincided mainly with those occupying a central role in local interaction.

It is not always possible to assess beyond any doubt to what extent these communities were already 'central', before the first contact – or if they became so, only after Aegean interaction. The case of Scoglio del Tonno, however, may be instructive: a crucial node during Protoapennine times, it will enter into contact with the Aegean world only in Apennine times, so suggesting that perhaps the first option is the more likely.

Aegean interaction in Apulia was mostly en route to more distant places, a by-product of other destinations and other purposes. Such a situation, in general terms, is not lacking in favourable occasions to be exploited by local communities, and indeed there are some traces of early activities by local intermediaries well integrated within a personal web of relations with Aegean seafarers. This is possibly the case for the individual in tomb 12 at Torre Santa Sabina, who was buried with a rich furnishing of Aegean-type material. In any case, Torre Santa Sabina is an isolated exception: and the importance/influence

of the postulated intermediary buried here and his lineage seems to have been relatively ephemeral. As noted by Onnis (2010), the Aegean-type material in the tumulus is limited to the LH IIIA period, while that coming from the related settlement, and whose introduction in the local sphere of consumption was probably mediated by other groups, goes on well into LH IIIB and C.

By Apennine-LH IIIA times, the distribution of ceramic material suggests that Aegean relations in the broader central Mediterranean seem to have been divided according to well-defined sub-networks, each with at least one key site (i.e. what has been referred to in the literature as *gateway communities*; Hirth 1978), relying primarily on local interaction for capital accumulation. Among these key nodes was now also an Apulian site, Scoglio del Tonno. The prevalence of closed containers at this settlement fits quite closely with patterns at important nodes elsewhere in the central Mediterranean (e.g. Thapsos), and beyond (consider, for instance, the same pattern in Egypt and Nubia; see Hankey 1995; Spataro et al. 2017). It seems that parts of Apulia were perhaps now more thoroughly integrated in the Aegean network than before.

More generally, the existence of these sub-networks indicates a more careful and programmed approach to expeditions to the west: this can possibly mirror socio-political changes occurring in mainland Greece with the establishment of the palatial polities. I do not mean to imply a direct palatial involvement in western trade, but rather that the renewed climate of political control/pacification had probably allowed those travelling to the 'west' to plan their journeys in a more systematized and organized way. Also, there was perhaps a more regular and reliable demand from the 'new' palatial markets in Mycenaean Greece for 'exotic' western products, something that might have further triggered an increase in the organization of the flow of goods, possibly textiles. Yet the fact that these have left no trace in the Minoan/Mycenaean world at this time suggests that these were not particularly fashionable.

From the point of view of Aegean participants, the distance between each of the areas of contact seems to have become a critical factor. Seeking contact only with communities sited a certain distance apart allowed seafarers to maintain a position of power in the negotiation of any relationship/transaction and to bargain for the best deal with a number of potential partners.

To sum up, despite some crucial communication links between various coastal sites, and the presence of active, small-scale, local and trans-Adriatic networks, this activity was probably not on a scale sufficient to trigger in the Adriatic community an increased investment in resources in what I have defined as the

Means of Interaction, the physical and social means through which interaction occurred. Even in the most 'promising' area for this period, north Apulia, the direction of the connections attested, that is, mostly going from east to west, suggests (as for the Cetina interaction) that Balkan communities were the more active (i.e. hegemonic), when compared with western ones that were mostly receiving items and stylistic features. Through the MBA, despite the importance of coastal sites, it was the basic agricultural activity that likely continued to be the most important aspect, encouraging material and social production. An echo of this continuity is probably seen in the funerary record: this appears to be very stable through the whole MBA and shows a close attention to land control (Section 'The individual community during the Middle Bronze Age'; see Orlando 1995).

Interaction, which probably shadowed the dynamics of intercommunity marriages similar to those highlighted for northern Apulia, was mostly land based and carried out without the help of efficient transport animals (e.g. donkeys), whose earliest attestation dates to the subsequent Subapennine period (Bökönyi and Siracusano 1987).

Considering all these elements, it is possible to assert that social groups inhabiting sites on the southern Adriatic were likely non-hegemonic in Relations of Interaction (see Chapter 1), compared to their Minoan/Mycenaean seafaring partners. This does not imply some kind of World-System-like dependency, nor even a strong influence over Adriatic communities. There is for a start a perceptible relative lack of interest of Aegean people in this part of the Mediterranean (at least until the end of LH IIIA). Furthermore, the most important aspect of these interconnections was that they were based on personal relations. Voyaging over long distances probably obliged seafarers to establish and cultivate a series of amicable relations with individuals from communities in key positions along the route, from whom they could seek vital logistic help if needed. The means through which these relations were created and maintained involved probably the gift of objects.

The attractiveness of imported material, as well as the strength in Relations of Interaction enjoyed by Aegean seafarers in the eyes of Apulians, did not reside in the high quality of their pottery or in its (presently) perceived technological superiority. Rather, it may have been grounded in the mystical ability of seafarers, through the use of sailing ships, to appear on the horizon with vessels larger than anything ever produced locally and to connect distant places, gathering material from the most disparate sources (of which commoners of Apennine villages probably had little geographic awareness). The social prestige accruing

from knowing people who travelled over long distances was the real valuable to be traded on in the early encounters between Aegean seafarers with Apulian and other central Mediterranean communities. Local lineages, embedded in their own (more or less intense) competitions, prized this *mana* as a key possession. The early imitation of items imbued with such powerful talismanic aura was the obvious subsequent step, one that we see now in its embryonic stage (Broodbank 2000: 249–253; Helms 1988: 94–110).

We know very little about the actual social practices mediating interaction between the Aegean visitors and the local communities of Apulia at the scale of the individual site during the MBA. The pattern attested at early second millennium BC sites around the Mediterranean suggest that however these played out, a limited number of foreign items ended up being incorporated into daily use and occasionally also entered the funerary domain. We also know little about the reasons that eventually led, in Apennine times, to the destruction of a site that will subsequently become one of the most important nodes in the region, i.e. Roca. It is possible that this event is to be connected in some way to the emergence of the highly Mycenaean-influenced settlement of Ephyra/Xylokastro in Epirus (Galaty 2016; Tartaron 2004: 145) and to an extension (through warfare) of the political sphere of interaction of some peripheral mainland polities (thus confirming the substance of Guglielmino's hypothesis of a violent event led by Aegean assailants; see Guglielmino 2006b). Or, likewise, it could have been the outcome of internecine warfare between different Apulian communities (as suggested by Cazzella's general model, see Cazzella 2009). Traces of warfare are indeed well attested in the region (e.g. the numerous weapons discussed in the previous pages, as well as the fortifications): Roca is not the only example of a violent destruction dating to the MBA. A violent end has also been suggested for Protoapennine Coppa Nevigata and in the same period the site of Porto Perone is abandoned, although in this last case it is not possible to recognize traces of warfare (Lo Porto 1963: 372–373; Recchia 2010a: 99). Finally, a large fire destruction has been recently recorded also at Otranto (Aprile et al. 2016).

What we do know, however, is that in LH IIIA, after Roca's destruction, there remained another significant node of interaction with the Aegean world operational in Southern Italy, namely the site of Scoglio del Tonno, near the future colony of Taras.

From Direct Contact to Brownian Motion: The Southern Adriatic during the Recent Bronze Age (1300–1100 BC)

The individual community during the Recent Bronze Age

At every level, the Recent Bronze Age (RBA) represents a period of great importance in determining modes and outcomes of interaction in the southern Adriatic. As with the preceding phase, the discussion will focus on the three concentric levels of analysis, starting from the smallest, which is related to the individual community.

Archaeological traces of the southern Adriatic community

The first aspect to be noted with respect to occupational trends in the area is the strong continuity of settlements (Fig 4.1). Only five new sites are founded during this phase, while the remaining sixty-nine have yielded traces of previous occupation. Partially coupled with this is another pattern, already observed (i.e. Bettelli 2002: 254), that is the abandonment of a limited number of Middle Bronze Age (MBA) sites, started already in the preceding Apennine period (i.e. from the early to the late MBA). Despite this overall decline, again if time phases of the Apulian Bronze Age are taken individually into consideration, then things look somewhat different. In terms of number of sites per unit of time, the dropping away starts to be visible only from Apennine (late MBA) to Subapennine (RBA) times. Nor is this trend homogeneous across the whole region. The area seeing the most intense depopulation is the hinterland and, to a more limited extent, the near-coastal, while in contrast the zone up to 5 kilometres from the coast actually experienced growth in the number of settlements (see Table 4.1). Among RBA sites, those endowed with fortifications (mostly built in the previous phases) form a greater share of the total, reaching

Table 4.1 (a) Distribution of sites in Apulia during the MBA3 and RBA; (b) Number of sites per year from MBA to RBA.

(a)			
Sites:	MBA3	RBA	
Coastal	21	28	
Semi-coastal	22	17	
Hinterland	30	22	
Lakeside	5	2	

(b)			
Periods	No. of sites	No. of sites per year	Years
MBA	144	0.40	360
MBA1–2	102	0.43	240
MBA3	77	0.64	120
RBA	69	0.30	230

about 27 per cent as against 20 per cent in the previous Apennine phase. The picture at a region-wide level appears thus to be rather subtly nuanced; however, when focusing only on the well-explored area around Cisternino and Ostuni (near Brindisi), the trend of selective abandonment seems to emerge much more clearly. Indeed, of the sixteen sites identified by various scholars (Coppola 1977, 1983; Recchia and Ruggini 2009), only a handful bear traces of Subapennine occupation (six overall).

Another major aspect of change recognizable within the RBA of Apulia relates to funerary practices. Dolmens and mounds, which were typical of earlier (mainly Protoapennine, but also occasionally Apennine) phases of the Bronze Age, seem now to have definitely vanished. The evidence related to tombs is admittedly very scarce and limited mostly to the northern and central part of the region. The use of caves, both for burial and cultic practices, also continues during this period (i.e. at Manaccora). In addition, two other types of funerary contexts exist. The first are large underground tombs, such as those at Trinitapoli discussed previously, which endure until the beginning of this period. Along with large hypogea, small chamber tombs, often defined a *grotticella* in Italian, also continue to be in use in this period, but these are only attested at Torre Castelluccia (Fig. 4.2; Gorgoglione 2002), not far from Scoglio del Tonno.

Cremation cemeteries represent the other main category and are recorded at Contrada Pozzillo near Canosa (starting during MBA3) and at Torre Castelluccia

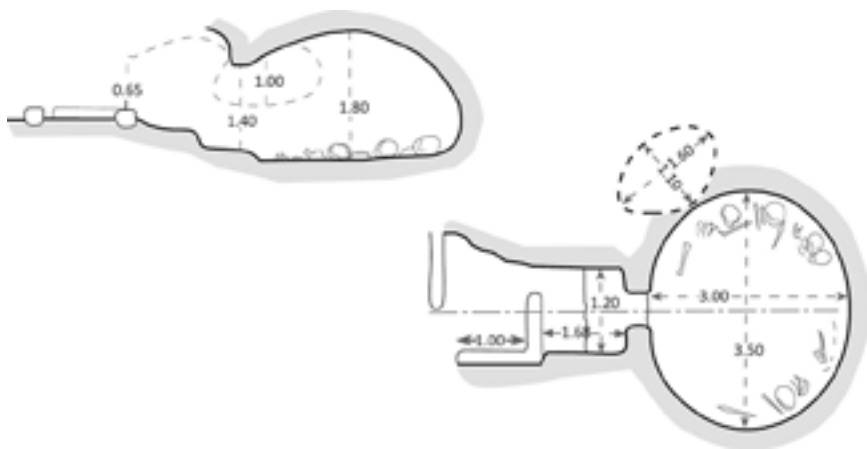


Fig. 4.2 ‘Tomba a grotticella’ at Torre Castelluccia.

(Lo Porto 1997; Vanzetti 2002), where different burial practices are used at this time. To this evidence it is possible to add the likely remains of a cremation tomb recovered near Molinella in the Gargano, which had as a grave good a ritually killed sword (Bietti Sestieri 2010b: 158; Cazzella 2010).

As far as internal organization is concerned, considerable changes are attested at various sites around the region. At Coppa Nevigata, the fortification walls are completely abandoned by the end of the Apennine period. The defensive needs of the settlement towards dangers from the hinterland are now fulfilled by a ditch, which remained in use until the Early Iron Age. The overall size of the site seems to remain the same as in the previous phases (Cazzella and Recchia 2012b). If Coppa Nevigata does not expand, then other sites do experience an increase in the area occupied. At the southern corner of the region, at Santa Maria di Leuca, the settlement of Punta Meliso that started during the MBA seems to have extended to the lower terrace of the promontory on which it was situated (Orlando 1997). Conversely, at Porto Perone close to Taranto, after a period of abandonment dating to the Apennine period, the settlement is resettled and now also extends to the promontory of Satyrion, overlooking the bay (Lo Porto 1963, 1964).

Returning to Coppa Nevigata, a two-room building was now created on top of an artificial heap of crushed limestone, facing the entrance of the settlement. This has been interpreted by the excavators as something facilitating control, as well as endowed with a symbolic significance. Meal remains recovered in carbon-rich deposits and the existence of a wide open area has suggested to the excavator the possible existence of feasting practices promoted by specific kin groups within the community (Fig. 4.3; Cazzella and Recchia 2013: 203; Recchia 2012: 438).

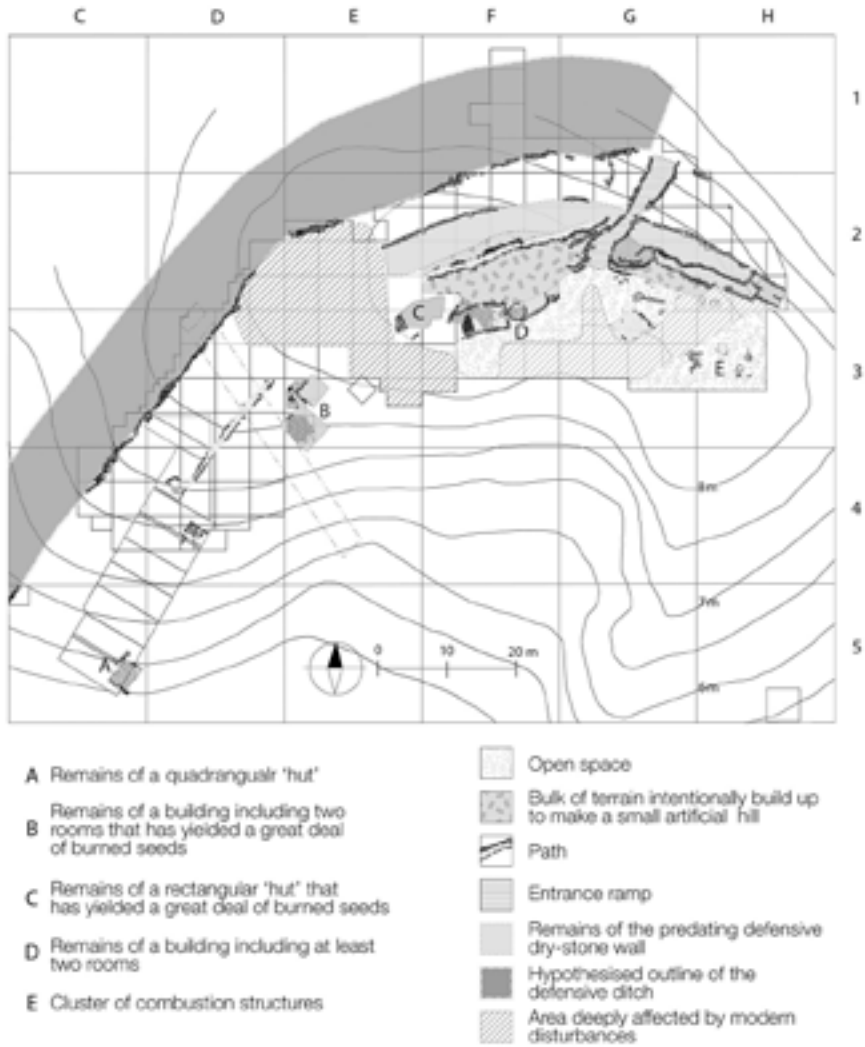


Fig. 4.3 Coppa Nevigata during the RBA.

Feasting evidence on a much larger scale is attested at Roca, a site that now shows a considerable degree of activity. This is mostly located in Area IX, close to the crumbled remains of the MBA fortification, and occurs in the second part of the RBA. As I have discussed elsewhere (Iacono 2015), feasting is attested in the earliest deposits of the stratigraphic sequence here: it involved the sacrifice of a number of animals and the participation of a large proportion of the population of the site (Fig. 4.4; about 500 people according to estimation).



Fig. 4.4 Animal sacrifice at Roca.

These remains had been covered by leaves and then completely sealed by an imposing crushed limestone pavement about 80 cm deep at its maximum. Activities at Area IX continued for many decades afterwards, as witnessed by the long sequence of subsequent deposits, alternating with thin pavement layers again fashioned out of crushed *tufo* (the local limestone). At some point in this sequence of alternations (i.e. during the local phase 5; see Pagliara et al. 2008), the fortifications are also completely rebuilt, this time with an extremely labour-intensive technique entailing the use of cut blocks (Fig. 4.5, Guglielmino 2006a). Coluccia (in Guglielmino et al. 2017) has recently proposed a reconstruction of this new wall. Although the use of regular blocks is undoubtedly reminiscent of the Aegean world, the way these were used (essentially as a stone footing for an embankment held together by a wooden structure) is quite original and



Fig. 4.5 RBA fortifications at Roca.

bears little direct comparison to the architecture of Mycenaean citadels. The construction of the walls was carried out over more than two archaeological phases and is likely to have absorbed a considerable amount of resources.

Besides this context, a relatively large hut has been identified in Area X: in this, semi-finished horn and ivory products were recovered, suggesting the presence of these specialized manufacture (Pagliara et al. 2007).

Different kinds of structures are attested at the Adriatic site of Torre Santa Sabina (the site of the MBA tumulus discussed in Chapter 3). These can be identified in the two large semi-underground huts excavated in the 1990s (Coppola and Cinquepalmi 1998; Coppola and Raimondi 1995), as well as perhaps in the complex alignment of postholes with an apsidal profile, discovered near the coast in the main area of the settlement. Although this part of the site has been completely eroded, providing little to no traces of closely datable occupation (Coppola 1977, 1983), it is probable that the latter structural feature belongs (at least partially) to the Subapennine period.

Context of interaction

It is possible to recognize a series of changes at this time in the pattern of consumption/deposition related to exogenous goods. The first and more important is the almost complete disappearance of Aegean-type pottery (or more broadly goods) from grave offerings, though admittedly this practice was attested

in the previous phases only by a couple of instances (see Section ‘The individual community during the Middle Bronze Age’). The only possible exception now is the stirrup jar held by the Louvre Museum, and dating to Late Helladic (LH) IIIB, coming from Specchia Martucci around Oria (Orlando 1995; Taylour 1958: 169).

The use of Aegean-type material in the settlements, however, continues as in the previous period, both on the eastern and western coasts of the region. At Roca, the largest set of Aegean-type ceramics (counting almost 400 vessels) ever recovered west of Greece is actively employed in the feasting encountered in Area IX. Here the abundance of open shapes connected to wine consumption, like kraters and deep bowls, sometimes grouped in drinking sets of identical vessels (Fig. 4.6; Iacono 2015: 248), hints at the importance of such a social exercise. The use of Aegean-type ceramics however is visible beyond the feasting events. In Area IX, the subsequent deposits have produced considerable amounts of Aegean-related material – not only of pottery, but also of rare exotica like a Mainland Popular Group stone seal, one of the few such objects recovered west of Greece (Iacono 2010).¹ In Area X, the workshop hut previously mentioned produced a considerable amount of Lustrous Decorated pottery, representing the zenith for this material in this part of the settlement (Guglielmino et al. 2017). Interestingly, in both areas shapes attested include a large number of

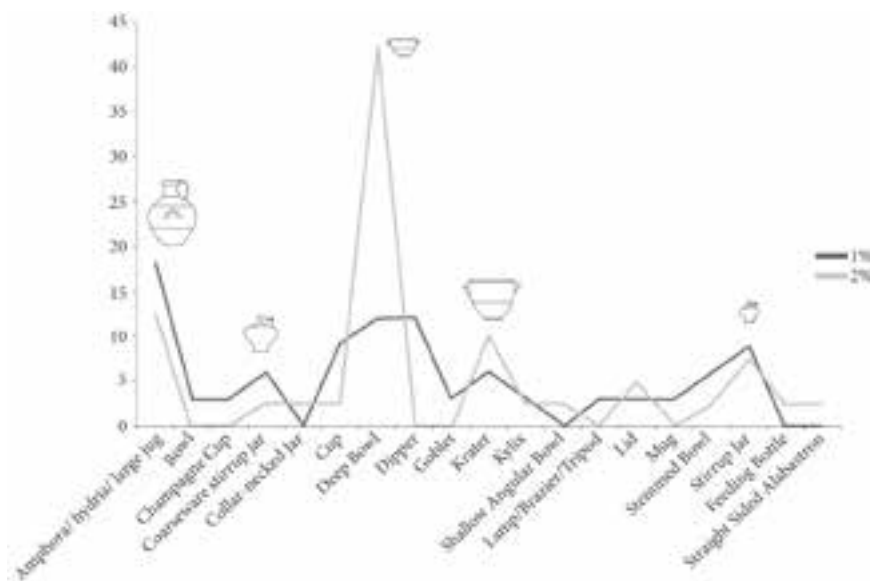


Fig. 4.6 Percentage composition of recognizable shapes of the Aegean-type feasting assemblage of Phases I and II in Area IX at Roca (overall sample 383 vessels).

wine-related open shapes (most notably, deep bowls and kraters), a feature that suggests some potential continuity in the range of practices involving such ceramics. Moreover, the fact that said practices were not limited to an individual context indicates a wider popularity.

At Coppa Nevigata (Fig. 4.1 no. 128), Aegean-type ceramics are mostly found in association with late Subapennine levels. From a quantitative perspective, they were homogeneously spread over various areas of the settlement. A particularly well-preserved concentration (thus likely to have been deposited not too far from the place where once used) looks to have a spatial relationship with the thick crushed limestone heap and related building, where remains of feasting have been uncovered (Fig. 4.3). Although it is not possible to argue straight out for the use of Aegean-type material in feasting, it is likely that those organizing these events had access to the same. Despite some contextual analogies with the case of Roca, as previously discussed, there are also other, possibly more evident and significant, differences between the two sites. A major one is the comparable scarceness of material at Coppa. Furthermore, at Coppa, traces of the same social practices identified in Area IX at Roca (e.g. wine consumption, deposition of articulated parts of animals) cannot be identified.

Another important context of interaction on the Adriatic coast is Torre Santa Sabina (Fig. 4.1 no. 161). Here, as previously mentioned, the remains of two large, semi-underground structures have yielded copious material (mostly of LH IIIC date with some earlier specimens). The structures, which bear traces of perimeter postholes, have been credibly interpreted as connected to relatively large habitations, albeit unfortunately they constitute the only reasonably preserved structures identified at the site and, therefore, it is not possible to compare them with anything else (Coppola and Raimondi 1995; Coppola 1977).

Substantial traces of interaction with the Aegean world have been revealed also at Porto Perone (Fig. 4.1 no. 123), located on the Ionian coast. Aegean-type material is attested both here and at the related upper settlement on the promontory of Satyrion. The material from Porto Perone itself appears to be more abundant than that of Satyrion, even though the area explored in the former location is larger (though not substantially so; see Fisher 1988; Lo Porto 1963, 1964). Again, in the area around Taranto and not far from Porto Perone, the site of Torre Castelluccia has yielded minor quantities of Aegean-type material. According to the re-examination of the excavation notebook of the 1940s and 1950s (Gorgoglione 2002), a relatively complex quadrangular stone building dating to the end of the RBA and the Final Bronze Age (FBA) was

recovered at the site (*ambiente* 7; see Gorgoglione et al. 1993), and Subapennine material has been identified in various zones of the settlement. As for Aegean-type pottery, this has been recovered in association with a pavement (*Battuto B* of the Trench II), but no other information is available on this. According to various scholars (Biancofiore 1967; Fisher 1988: 152–167; Vagnetti 2002), two of the vessels recovered at the site, a cup and a jug (Vagnetti 2002: 89, figs. 1–2), which have very similar fabric and are decorated in similar ways (quirks [FM 48]), could well represent a drinking set, thus perhaps hinting at the possible existence of complex strategies of display, such as those at Roca, where drinking sets are also present (Iacono 2015: 268). The most interesting aspect of the documentation of Torre Castelluccia, however, is the fact that although two different kinds of funerary structures belonging to the RBA are present, neither of them contained Aegean-type material, presumably representing a specific cultural choice.

The evidence from the region around Taranto leaves the observer wondering what the context of deposition was in that site that probably constituted the main node of the area (as far as interaction with the Aegean is concerned), namely the settlement of Scoglio del Tonno. Unfortunately, as mentioned, the data now available is extremely sketchy, if not contradictory (Quagliati 1900). Even so, as far as circumstances permit, the main structural evidence related to the Subapennine phase (but occupation in the subsequent FBA is not ruled out) can be identified in a large apsidal hut (measuring about 20 × 15 metres). This, it has been stated (Gorgoglione et al. 2006: 1129), is also the area yielding the largest assemblage of Aegean-type material, with a high proportion of imports including numerous bronze objects (Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010: 465; Quagliati 1900: 434–437). The structure, for which some sort of public function has been suggested by various authors (Bietti Sestieri 2010b: 140; see also Peroni 1996: 290–292), was possibly endowed with a contiguous ‘kitchen’ (i.e. an area/room with cooking facilities), suggesting some form of specialization in the use of space. Less abundant are the Aegean-type ceramics from Cozzo Marziotta (Gorgoglione 1986), which proves that in the Tarantino there were also sites where this kind of material was scarce to non-existent (see the site of Bagnara in the same area; Fedele 1982).

Finally, the MBA trend of sherds dispersed in huts pavement and use level seem to survive in Otranto, although little useful information is available because the area explored is fairly small (Benzi 1983; Orlando 2002). Little can be said also on material from Scalo di Furno due to the lack of published contextual details (Lo Porto 1990).

The small-scale network during the Recent Bronze Age

The Subapennine network

It is now time to move beyond the individual community and to investigate what interaction looked like at an inter-site level. Again, as for the previous time slice, the material selected to explore local networks is the handmade *Impasto* pottery (Fig. 4.7).

It is essential to note that, although the basic technical features of pottery making (hand forming, low firing and the use of non-fine clays)² remain the same, much has changed from the MBA. The first discontinuity, which is not

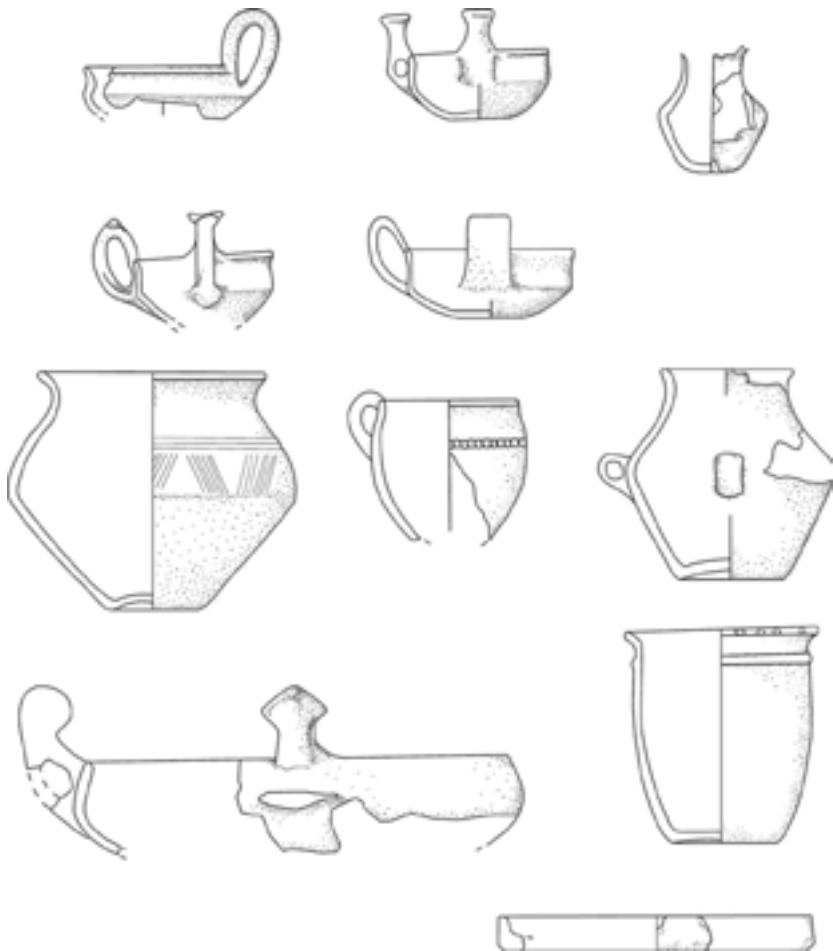


Fig. 4.7 Some examples of Subapennine pottery.

limited to Apulia but involves the whole of Southern Italy, is an increase in the standardization of the pottery. This is evident in one of the best-studied contexts of Southern Italy, namely the assemblage from the site of Broglio di Trebisacce in Calabria. As noted by Levi (1999, 2004: 241), the passage between the MBA and the RBA marks an increase in the number of shapes and a pronounced decrease in their variability. A process of homogenization had already been noticed as being underway by many scholars, particularly with reference to Apulia, where the various subgroups recognizable during Protoapennine times gradually coalesce during the RBA (Damiani 1991, 1995; Macchiarola 1995).

The decrease in variability is also probably behind the foremost change occurring in pottery production during the RBA. This is the gradual (according to, primarily, the record revealed at Coppa Nevigata; Cazzella and Recchia 2012a) decline of incised decoration which, albeit still present in an early phase of the period, disappears completely in mature Subapennine times.

With the new phase, the only medium through which stylistic variation could be expressed was plastic decoration, primarily in the form of handles. A quick look at the difference in the number of variables expressed in the tables referring to the two periods (see Appendix 2, Table 1 and 2) is enough to spell out the general decrease in variability experienced. The graph elaborated for this phase (Fig. 4.8; measures in Table 4.2) follows the same rules and norms as explained in the previous chapter (see Section ‘The Protoapennine and Apennine network’).

Since the dating range of most of the elements taken into consideration does not overlap perfectly (see Cocchi Genick 2004a; Damiani 1991), dividing the evidence into different sub-periods would have produced a very small graph with very few nodes based on a fairly limited number of stylistic variables. Because of this, it has been decided to consider the whole Subapennine era together, also in the light of the fact that its overall chronological duration is comparable to that of one of the phases of the MBA (see Table 2.1). As for the specific elements analysed, again in order to reduce the level of chronological indeterminacy, it has been further decided to exclude those features that are also very frequent during the MBA, such as strap handles with raised edges or strap handles with cylindrical projections (Cocchi Genick 1995, figs. 138, nos. 458–459).

Along with the projections (in the Italian terminology *sopraelevazioni*) of various types (cattle horns, snail horns, bilateral lobes and so on) and the plastic decoration of the handle-form itself (in Italian *anse* decorate), the number of stylistic variables examined has been enriched also with other features.³ The results presented in Table 4.2 indicate that Coppa Nevigata (28) was again the most central site in the region. However, it is necessary to bear in mind the relative heterogeneity of the sample, which includes both those sites with traces

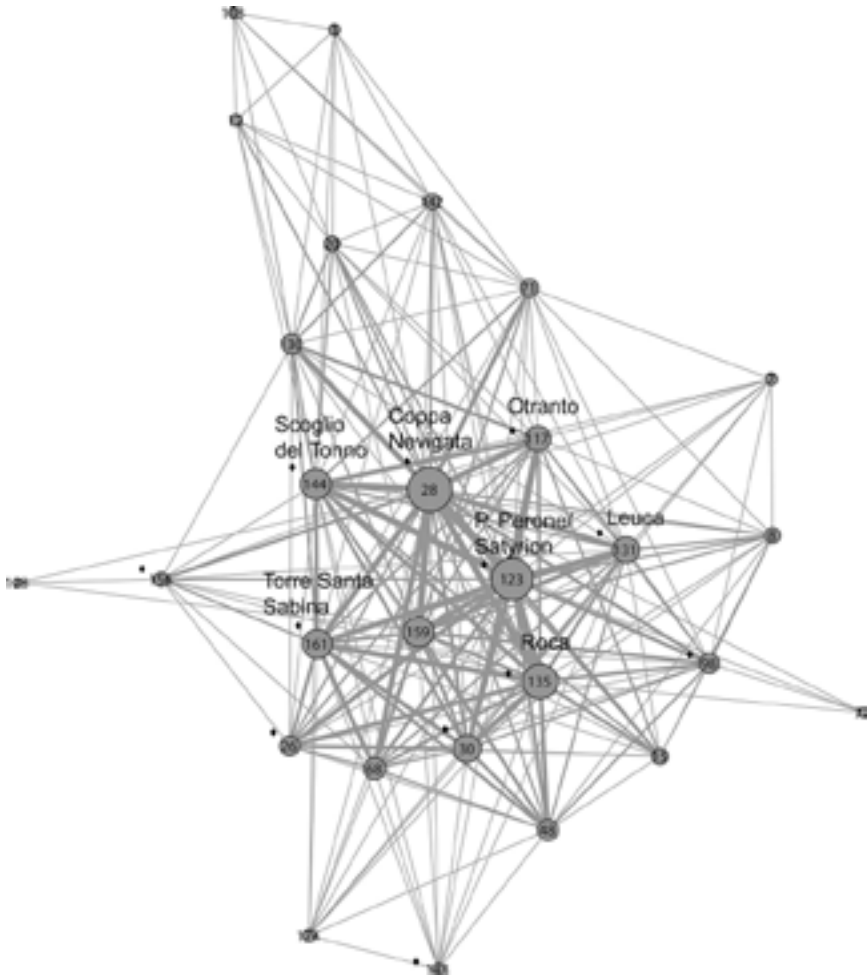


Fig. 4.8 Network representing the distribution of Subapennine *Impasto* pottery stylistic features. The size of the node indicates its Weighted Degree (see text), while the thickness of the edges is proportional to the number of the stylistic features shared. Diamond symbols indicate sites where Aegean-type pottery has been recovered.

of all phases of the Subapennine and those whose occupation relating to this period was arguably shorter, that is, limited to either the initial, the mature or the last phases of the RBA. From this viewpoint, Coppa Nevigata is the only systematically explored site in the region that was continuously occupied during the whole RBA, while, for instance, at Roca the areas explored so far have revealed traces of occupation dating only to the mature and final part of the period. Therefore, the primary position of Coppa Nevigata is probably an attestation of the continuity of occupation of the site. However, continuity

Table 4.2 Measures of the graph related to the distribution of the Subapennine decorative features

Site	Degree	Weighted Degree	Modularity Class	ATP	TNoM
3	7	7	0	No	1
7	10	10	1	No	1
8	13	18	1	?	2
12	7	7	0	No	1
15	13	20	1	No	3
20	13	18	0	No	3
26	15	28	1	Yes	5
28	26	85	2	Yes	19
30	20	46	1	Yes	6
48	16	31	2	No	4
68	15	33	2	No	5
71	17	23	0	No	4
72	3	3	2	No	1
98	17	29	1	Yes	4
103	7	7	0	No	1
117	17	40	1	Yes	6
123	21	76	1	Yes	11
128	3	3	2	No	1
130	16	27	0	No	5
131	21	42	1	Yes	5
135	20	61	2	Yes	10
142	15	17	0	No	3
143	11	11	2	Yes	1
144	24	50	0	Yes	8
156	12	16	2	Yes	4
159	22	51	2	No	8
161	19	50	2	Yes	8
174	11	11	2	No	1

ATP: Aegean-type pottery (attested or not, ? if the find is uncertainly attributable to this phase); TNoM: total number of motifs.

is probably not the only reason for this primacy: Coppa's northern position, given the frequent interconnections with the upper part of the Adriatic, probably also made an important contribution to the fostering of connections at a regional level (see Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age').

Sites with Aegean-type material are, as an average, more central than the others (Average Weighted Degree [AWD] in Table 4.3a): this indicates that there is a strong relationship between centrality in local networks and the presence of Aegean-type material. As has also been noted in the previous periods, most of the sites with a high Weighted Degree Centrality are also those on the coast, and this is even more valid for Subapennine times, when the overall incidence of coastal sites increases.

Another element that has emerged quite clearly from the network analysis concerns with the overall features of the Subapennine network. Comparing the measures related to the Average Clustering Coefficient (ACC, in Table 4.3b),

Table 4.3 Overall measures of networks from MBA to RBA

(a)				
	Total WD	No. of sites	ADPS	AWD
Protoapennine				9.12
With ATP	61	5	12.2	
Without ATP	218	24	9.08	
Apennine				6.13
With ATP	30	6	11.1	
Without ATP	145	22	4.9	
Subapennine				29.6
With ATP	532	12	44.3	
Without ATP	268	16	16.7	
(b)				
	ACC		NoN	
Protoapennine	0.64		32	
Apennine	0.63		29	
Subapennine	0.82		28	

WD: Weighted Degree; ATP: Aegean-type pottery; ADPS: average degree per site; AWD: Average Weighted Degree; ACC: Average Clustering Coefficient; NoN: Number of Nodes.

which counts the number of cliques (i.e. group of nodes that are all connected to one another; see Scott 2000: 114–120), with the AWD, which indicates how many stylistic features are shared between each node on average, it is possible to observe that the graph relating to the Subapennine period is much more connected than that of the previous period. In other words, if we focus particularly on the AWD, it is possible to deduce that stylistic information travelled through Subapennine sites more frequently than in Protoapennine and Apennine times.

This tendency identified might, at least partially, be imputed to the change of focus in the indicators adopted to provide the analysis, namely turning from incised decoration to plastic. Nevertheless, the fact that plastic handles and decoration are, along with relatively modest variations in shape, the only elements of stylistic variability that exist is significant and cannot be dismissed. All in all, it is safe to assert that pottery producers within communities are at this time much more connected than in the previous period, although obviously the precise paths entailed by these connections are impossible to assess.

The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age

Northern connections: Was there a small-scale Subapennine network?

In any discussion of Subapennine pottery, it must be remembered that limiting the analysis to a single region (even if a relatively extensive one like Apulia) can potentially be misleading. Ever since the earliest study on the subject (i.e. Peroni 1959), it has been universally acknowledged that the distribution of pottery types and features during the RBA is extensive indeed. Of the whole Italian Bronze Age, the Subapennine is *par excellence* the period when ideas and models related to craft production spread over long distances, far exceeding the limits of any individual region (Damiani 1991, 2004). Many of the indicators chosen in the analysis presented in the previous section are to be encountered in areas as far apart as the lower Po Plain and the very tip of the Salento. Take, for instance, the cylindrical projection (Cattani 2009): typical of the Terramare area in Emilia Romagna in north-eastern Italy, this is attested also at Santa Maria di Leuca, the south easternmost point of continental Apulia.

Damiani, the author of some of the major analyses of Subapennine pottery (i.e. Damiani 1991, 2004, 2010), has suggested the working of two discrete mechanisms to account for the transmission of pottery features over such a wide area: one related to the distribution of pottery types and the other to do with the handles' shapes. In her opinion, specific pottery types were spread through the agency of bronze prototypes rarely attested in the archaeological record (the ubiquity of carination, a feature mimicking metal forms, seems to confirm this suggestion), while the shapes of the handles followed different 'routes' of dissemination. These latter constituted expressions quite independent of other features: as is proven by the fact that the same handle shape is attached to very different vessels. This autonomy, as well as the very shape of some that are connected with animals with potentially a high symbolic value (i.e. bulls/cattle, birds), has induced Damiani and other scholars to suggest that these indicators demonstrate a common shared symbolic background, encompassing wide areas of the current Italian territory (Fig. 4.9).



Fig. 4.9 Bronze prototype of a bowl with horned projection from the eleventh to the tenth century BC hoard of Coste del Marano.

The Adriatic probably constituted one of the main axes of movement and transfer: the recent development of archaeological exploration in intermediate regions (such as Marche and Abruzzo; see Damiani 2010: 383–390) has revealed the existence of indicators similar to those attested in the two more geographically remote areas, thus confirming this hypothesis. This pattern is not exclusive to the RBA: clues of the presence of similar connections existed already during the MBA (see Cannavò and Levi 2009 and Section ‘The wider Mediterranean context during the Middle Bronze Age’). What does change is the intensity of the phenomenon, which during the Subapennine reached a level previously unattested.

While some shapes (for instance, snail horns) are probably related to handle shapes of local (southern Italian) MBA tradition,⁴ the ancestry of some other models has been firmly identified in the Terramare area. This is the case, for instance, for cattle horns, which are already fairly frequent in the Terramare area during MBA3 (e.g. at Cavazzoli: Bernabò Brea and Tirabassi 1997: 352, fig. 193; see also Cardarelli 2009), and go on to become fairly ubiquitous in a mature phase of the Subapennine of Apulia. An example from the northerly site of Torre Mileto in the Gargano attests to a possible early adaptation of the Terramare prototype to the Apulian pottery tradition. Likewise, grooves-and-dots decoration represents undoubtedly a characteristic typical of the Terramare area, which gains popularity in Adriatic Southern Italy only in the late Subapennine (Cardarelli 2009; Damiani 1991).

The area of the so-called Terramare, the embanked sites characterizing the Bronze Age occupation of a vast territory that embraces most of modern Emilia Romagna down to the northern part of Tuscany, constituted an important terminal of this north-south transmission. According to a widely accepted hypothesis, the Terramare region experienced a rapid increase in population, as witnessed by the establishment over the course of the MBA of a large number of new sites. Such an increase would have pushed the productive capacity of the territory to the limits sustainable by the demographic and political/organizational setting of those societies which, it is argued, were relatively egalitarian, although with emerging differentiation between kin groups (Cardarelli 2015; Danckers 2017). This stress prompted a general crisis, expressed in a sudden decrease in the number of sites occupied (although not uniformly so over the whole region; see Fig. 4.10 and Cardarelli 1997, 2009; Peroni 1996: 200; Cupitò et al. 2012). The result of these dramatic processes would have been the movement and resettling of groups of people from the Terramare to other zones of peninsular Italy to the south, a hypothesis that, according to Cardarelli (2009), may be corroborated by

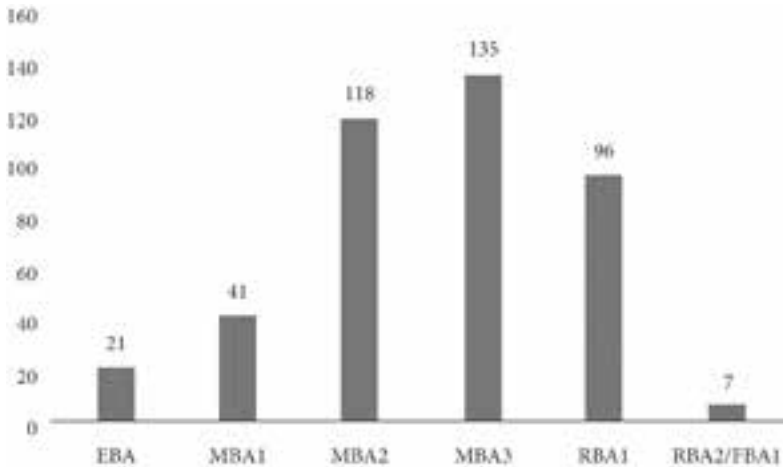


Fig. 4.10 Number of sites in the Terramare area through the various phases of the Bronze Age.

references in later historical sources (most notably, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing around the middle of the first century BC). The movement of people would have been concentrated in the final phases of the RBA, when the depopulation of the Terramare area is the most evident. Albeit undoubtedly fascinating and convincing in many respects, Cardarelli's migratory hypothesis does not provide a rationale for the special relationship existing between the northern and the southern Adriatic (on which we will say more in the last section of this chapter), as witnessed in particular in the evidence from the areas of Salento and of the southeastern boundary of the Terramare area, that is, the Grandi Valli Veronesi. *Impasto* pottery at Roca and other sites indeed shows a considerable level of correspondence with productions from the Terramare area, above all in grooved motifs of various kinds (Fig. 4.11; Palmisano and Cervinara 2017).

Connections between the north and south were not limited to pottery, but also involved other spheres of consumption. While 'traditional' northern goods, such as amber, seem to experience a general decrease in quantity during the RBA and the FBA (Bellintani 2010a), metallurgy displays the opposite trend. Interestingly, Apulia seems to have been one of the main loci of this activity, and, not surprisingly, these artefacts seem to have been concentrated in the chief centres of the region, such as Scoglio del Tonno (Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010). Here, the set of metal objects discovered (unfortunately with very little contextual information), dating between the RBA and an initial phase of the FBA, has revealed a strong incidence of types belonging to the Peschiera horizon

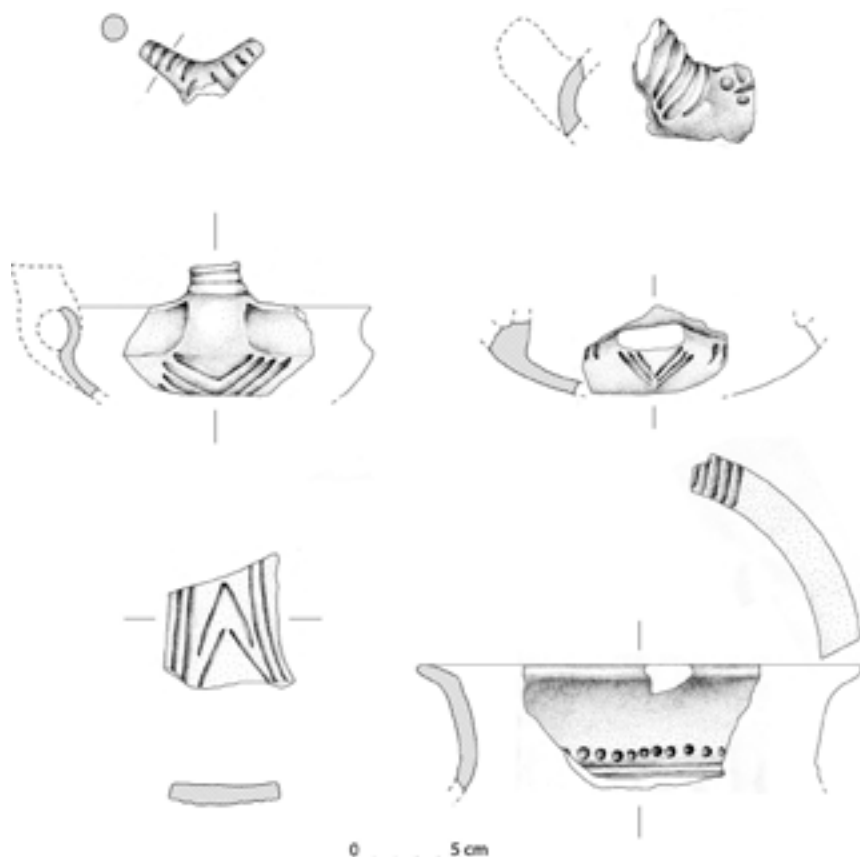


Fig. 4.11 *Impasto* pottery with 'northern' influences.

(Fig. 4.12). No category of metal items seems to have been excluded from the north-south interactions, be it weapons of various types, personal ornaments or everyday tools, making *de facto* an interpretation connected with the movement of specific groups of people, such as warriors (e.g. Jung 2009b; Molloy 2016), less sustainable (I will come back to this in Section 'The southern Adriatic societies and the Mediterranean in the *longue durée*').

Again, as with pottery, this phenomenon does not emerge fully formed during the RBA, but is to some extent anticipated by isolated finds in the previous Apennine phase. This is the case, for instance, with the Sacile swords identified in the *Ipogeo dei Bronzi* at Trinitapoli/Madonna di Loreto (see Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Middle Bronze Age'). Interestingly, lead isotope analyses suggest a northern Italian origin for metal of another sword,

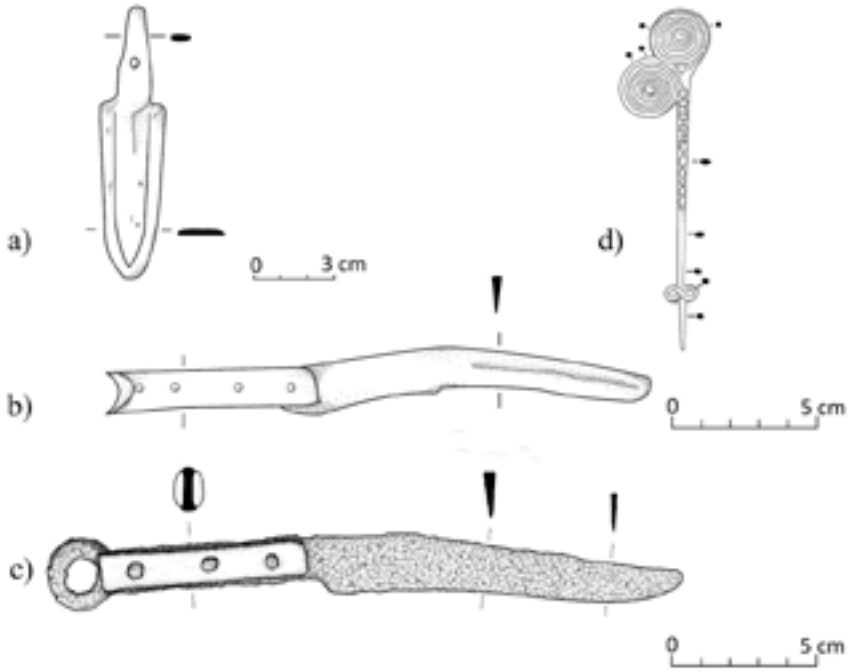


Fig. 4.12 'Northern' bronzes from Apulia. (a) dagger of the Torre Castelluccia type; (b, c) Baierdorf knives; (d) Garda-type pin.

this time of the southern Italian Pertosa type from the same site (Jung et al. 2011: 241; Jung and Mehofer 2013: 178), hinting at the possibility that metal from northern Italy was already moving southward at the very end of the MBA. To the material from Trinitapoli it is perhaps possible to add the slightly later 'killed' sword associated with the RBA jug from the possible cremation tomb at Molinella (Bietti Sestieri 2010b: 158), and the daggers of the Sant'Ambrogio type (popular in all continental Italy) recovered at Scoglio del Tonno and again at Madonna di Loreto (Bianco Peroni 1994: 97–101; Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, inv. 203834; Tunzi Sisto 2010: 308–310 nos. 6.13, 6.18).

Daggers constitute one of the main categories of the northern bronzes of this phase. They are also found at Torre Castelluccia (belonging to the homonymous Torre Castelluccia type A from tomb 10; Bianco Peroni 1994, no. 1156; Müller-Karpe 1961, figs. 1.4; Vanzetti 2002: 120) and, again, at Scoglio del Tonno (again of the Torre Castelluccia type; see Fig. 4.12a and Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, inv. 203902, 203903). Another dagger of the Pertosa type (Bianco Peroni 1994: 149–152, no. 1485; Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, inv. 203906), again

from Scoglio del Tonno, has been interpreted (by Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010: 465) as an Aegean import on purely typological grounds, primarily on the basis of the close resemblance with an example from Phylakopi (which is however normally considered exotic in such Aegean contexts).

A special category of northern bronzes is that of decorated pins, whose distribution is chiefly in funerary contexts. An exception to this pattern is, again, Scoglio del Tonno, where pins are plentiful. They are represented by an example of the Vidolasco type (Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, inv. 203926, Carancini 1975, no. 1509), one of the types with a roll-head and shank of circular section (Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, inv. 203844, 203835; Carancini 1975: 99–110), one of the types with a straight neck (Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, inv. 203927; Carancini 1975, no. 1810), one of the Fontanella types of the FBA (inv. 203818, Carancini 1975: 200–202; see also Bietti Sestieri and Macnamara 2007: 79, no. 199). Two further pins (Bietti Sestieri et al. 2010, inv. 203919, 203929, Carancini 1975, nos. 649 and 572) have a double spiral head, one of which is unfinished and is of the Garda type, which is also attested at the Urnfield of Torre Castelluccia (see Fig. 4.12d, tomb 1; Carancini 1975, type B, nos. 574–575).

Pins with a northern Italian ancestry are also quite popular at the cremation cemetery of Pozzillo near Canosa (see Lo Porto 1997, tomb 59/60 no. 3, fig. 54.3, tomb 16 no. 4, fig. 21.4, tomb 32 no. 2, fig. 34.2), along with other kinds of personal ornamentations such as rings (Lo Porto 1997, tomb 78 no. 3, fig. 67.3) and fibulae (tomb 59/60 no. 4, fig. 54.4).

Finally, but equally importantly, come the knives of the Baierdorf-Scoglio del Tonno type (Fig. 4.12c, b), which have been recovered at Scoglio del Tonno (Bianco Peroni 1976: 13–15, no. 16), Torre Castelluccia (from tomb 4; see Bianco Peroni 1976, no. 19; Müller-Karpe 1961, fig. 1.3; Vanzetti 2002: 120) and Roca (Pagliara et al. 2008: 267, V.2 from Area IX, Phase V).

‘Westernizing’ items in the Aegean

The success of northern metal shapes, however, was not limited to Southern Italy. Many of the types and items attested in Italy crossed the limits of the Adriatic, becoming quite widely distributed in the Aegean world, as well as in the Levant (Bettelli 2002; Iacono 2013; Jung 2009; Sherratt 2000), where they are normally grouped under the collective label of Urnfield bronzes (Fig. 4.13). As in Southern Italy, these items represent a variety of possible functional categories. Among these are also some of the most iconic pieces of metalwork of the Mediterranean Late Bronze Age, such as the notorious Naue II (or Sprockhoff or Alleron),

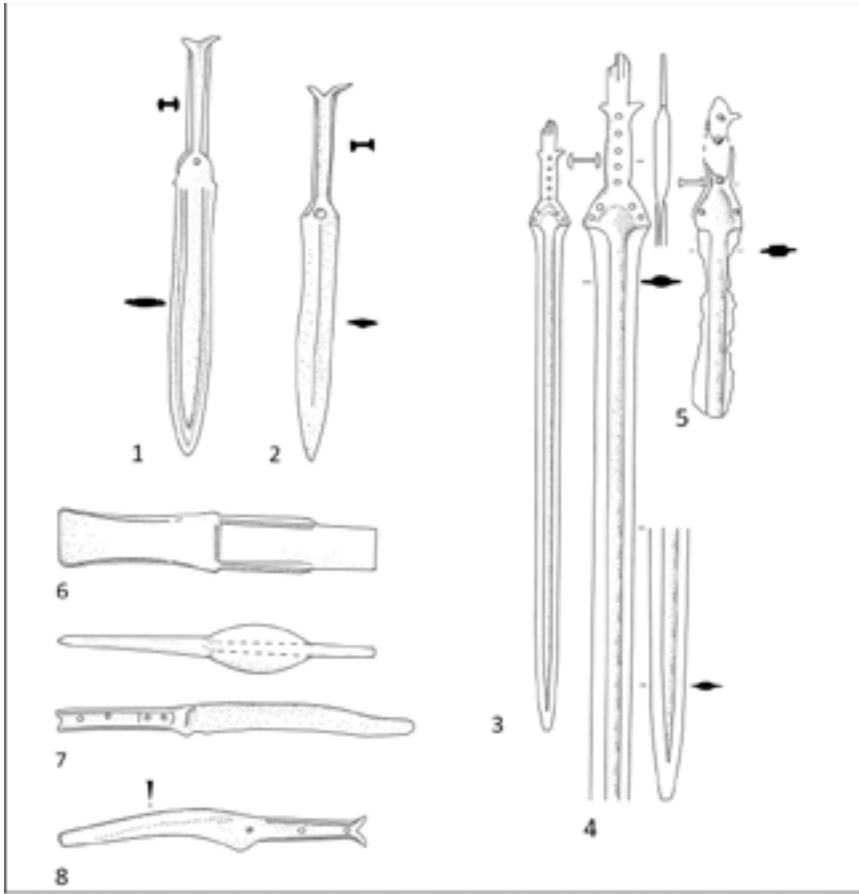


Fig. 4.13 Urnfield bronzes from Greece: Peschiera daggers (1, 2); Naue II swords (3–5), Matrei knives (7, 8). Cast of the winged axe mould recovered in the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae (not to scale). 1–2 from Mycenae; 3–4 from Gradita; and 5 from Moulana.

depending on the typology adopted) flange-hilted swords (related to the Sacile swords previously discussed) intimating new ways of fighting (Drews 1993; Jung and Mehofer 2013; *contra* Molloy 2010), Peschiera daggers and Matrei knives (a later evolution of the aforementioned Baierdorf type without the terminal tang-ring), all dating between LH IIIB and LH IIIC (i.e. RBA and FBA in Italian terms; see Fig. 4.13 nos. 7–8 and Bianco Peroni 1976; 1994; Harding 1984; Sherratt 2000). The swords (Fig. 4.13 nos. 3–5) in particular enjoyed great popularity, becoming a standard weapon of the Mediterranean Late Bronze Age and being eventually also reproduced in iron (Sherratt 2000). As noted many

years ago by Harding and recently re-emphasized by others, the closest parallels for most of these items are to be sought in Adriatic northern Italy (Bettelli 2002, 2004; Harding 1984; Jung 2006, 2009, but see Molloy 2016).

Local production of some of the urnfield bronzes is testified by rare finds like the famous mould of an Italian winged axe of the Ortucchio type, recovered in the occupational deposits of the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae (see Fig. 4.13, no. 6, and Bietti Sestieri 1973). Lead isotope analyses conducted by Jung and Mehofer (2013), however, have recently confirmed that some of these objects were indeed actual imports. This is the case, for instance, for the Naue II sword recently discovered at Koubala in Aetolo-Acharnania (Stavropoulou-Gatsi et al. 2012), for which an Italian provenance has been suggested, a few objects from western Greece (Jung and Mehofer 2013: 178), as well as a violin bow fibula recovered at Chania in western Crete whose metal, according to the analysis, may come from Sardinia (although the type of the object is actually Italian; see Hallager and Hallager 2000: 207–214).

This Sardinian connection is indeed a fundamental aspect, whose relevance in central Mediterranean terms will be highlighted below, but whose importance for the eastern Mediterranean has emerged only relatively recently. The focus of this connection in the RBA is, undoubtedly, the site of Kommos in southern Crete where imports have been identified (Jones and Levi 2014: 248–249), although Sardinian pottery has been found also elsewhere (i.e. one vessel on Cyprus, at Pyla Kokkinokremos; Jones and Levi 2014: 251). The excavations conducted at Kommos have revealed the existence of an important harbour site connected with the nearby centres of the Mesara plain and endowed with massive ship sheds, possibly among the earliest structures of this type in the Mediterranean (Shaw and Shaw 2006). Among the wealth of pottery that has been recovered here, along with abundant Cypriot imports, a specific group of coarse handmade material dating mostly to LH IIIB immediately attracted the attention of scholars. This group, thanks to chemical and petrological analyses, has been proved to be of Sardinian provenance (Rutter 2006: 674–678). These discoveries have demolished in one go two main assumptions relating to east-west interaction during the Late Bronze Age. The first is that western pottery could not travel to the east. The second is related to the assumed ineffectiveness of low-fired coarse ceramics as transport containers: Watrous (1992: 182) has credibly made the case for the use of coarse Sardinian jars as transport containers for shipping bronze cargos, on the basis of an analogy in the mode of deposition of hoards in Sardinia (Iacono 2013; *contra* Rutter 1999: 144).

The evidence from Kommos, however, is not the only instance of the existence of pottery-based connections from the west to the east during the RBA. Indeed, western elements have been recognized in several other late palatial/early post-palatial Aegean assemblages. These are mostly characterized by the occurrence of a peculiar group of pots, for which the use of the ‘neutral’ collective name of Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW henceforth) has replaced the older, somewhat derogatory, label of Barbarian Ware. Such materials can be easily distinguished from the rest of the contemporary pottery because of shape, fabric, finishing/firing and, to an extent, forming technique as this was handmade while production in the Aegean palatial world had been primarily wheel-thrown for a long time. HBW (Fig. 4.14) has been identified not only in the Minoan and Mycenaean heartlands, but also further east on Cyprus, as well as in the Levant (Badre 2003; Boileau et al. 2010; Charaf 2011; D’Agata et al. 2012; Karagheorghis 2011; Lis 2009; Pilides 1994). The shape repertoire belonging to this group of material was probably not limited to few shapes and included a larger number of functions. The existence of formal analogies between many vessels labelled as HBW and products typical of areas outside Greece, and in

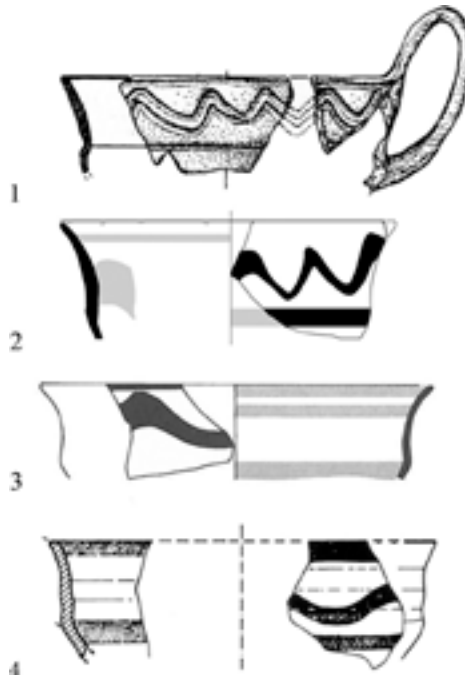


Fig. 4.14 Appropriation of stylistic features from the Adriatic to the Aegean. Carinated bowls in *Impasto* (1) and Aegean-type material (2–4) from S. Rosa di Povioglio (1); Roca (2); Tiryns (3); Phaistos (4) (not to scale).

particular with Subapennine traditions, has long been recognized by various scholars (Bettelli 2002: 117–138; Hallager 1985; Jung 2006: 21–46; Rutter 1975).

As with metals, the Adriatic area of Italy (used here in a rather broad sense, including also some of the main coastal sites on the Ionian arc, that is, from northern Calabria to the area around Taranto) has emerged as the locus where most of the western ceramic features recognized in Greece were also attested (Bettelli 2009; Jung 2006). Again, as happened with metals, the overwhelming majority of these materials were locally produced, as determined by a number of provenance analyses (Lefkandi: Jones 1986: 474–476; Menelaion: Whitbread 1992; Cyprus: Pilides 1994: 73–74; Tell Kazel: Boileau et al. 2010). Furthermore, similarities were not confined to an individual phase within the Subapennine but rather seem to have extended, to various degrees, over the whole period from its start until the inception of the Protovillanovan. In some of the major assemblages of HBW, it is even possible to distinguish an evolution of the shapes similar to that attested in Italy (see, for instance, the case of the carinated cup/bowls from Tiryns, where the carination becomes evermore pronounced over time, as too in Subapennine Italy, Bettelli 2002: 122).

The Subapennine features identified within HBW, along with the presence of *olle* and carinated shapes, include (but are not limited to): projections of various kinds (bird-shaped [at Chania Hallager and Hallager 2003, 80-P-0062, pl. 67c], with bovine horns [Knossos: Bettelli 2002: 122–124], axe-shaped [from Tiryns: Kilian 2007, no. 311]), horned handles (i.e. at Dimini: Adrimi Sismani 2006, fig. 13d), complex knob and cordon features (from Tiryns: Kilian 2007, nos. 271, 291, and Korakou: Rutter 1975: 18, no. 1) and grooves-and-dots decoration (from Volos-Palia: Bettelli 2009 fig. 12.1, and Lefkandi: Bettelli 2009, fig. 12.5). It is interesting to note that almost all of these features are present in *Impasto* assemblages of main sites of Apulia (particularly at Roca), and occasionally precise matches of vessel types can be recognized (see Jung and Mehofer 2013: 181, fig. 7; Pagliara et al. 2007: 337 no. IV 26, 2008: 254–255, fig. 11 nos. 3, 5, fig. 12 nos. 12, 16).

From a chronological and a geographical point of view, the HBW is in no way homogeneous (Bettelli 2009; Pilides 1994). The earliest examples of this kind of material date back to LH/M IIIB at Chania in western Crete and at Tiryns and Mycenae in the Argolid (Hallager and Hallager 2000, 2003; Kilian 2007; Romanos 2011). In the first two sites in particular, the excavators have identified conspicuous concentrations of these materials. These assemblages already include just about the whole set of shapes typical of HBW, and there seems to have been relatively little change from LH IIIB2 to LH IIIC Early. In the latter period, the HBW phenomenon extends to a number of sites primarily, but

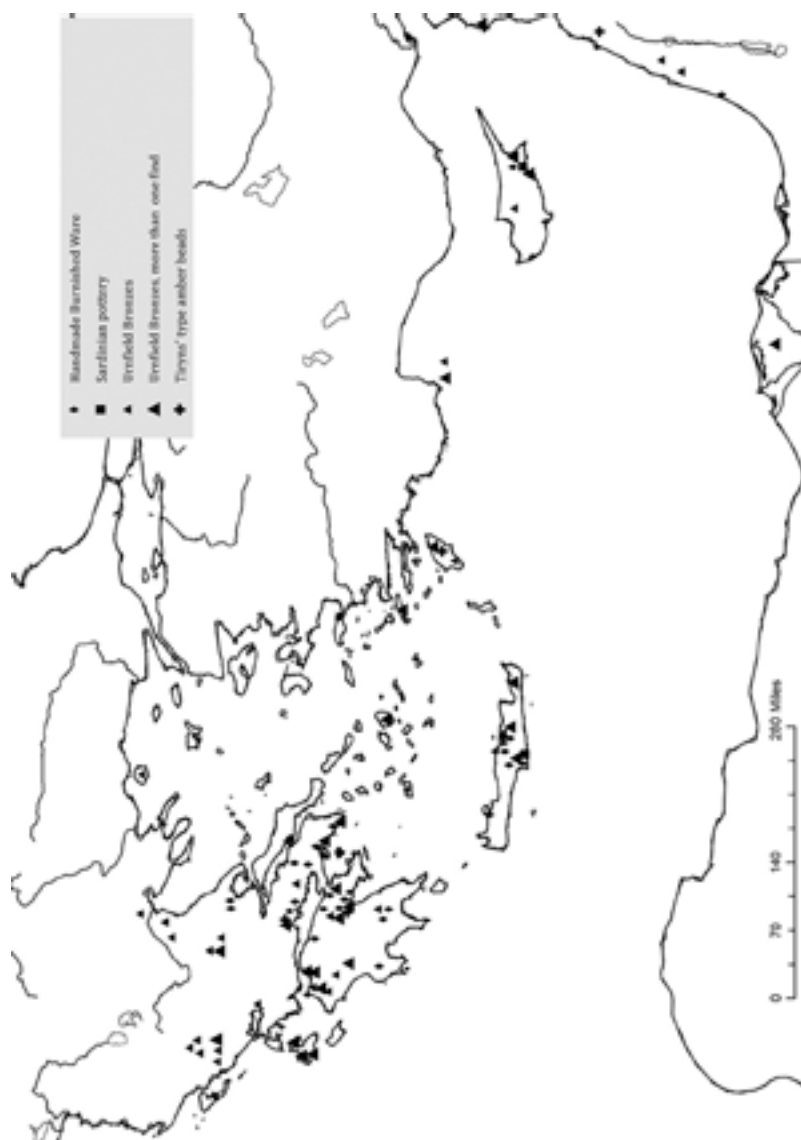


Fig. 4.15 Westernizing items in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.

not exclusively, located along the Gulf of Corinth (Fig. 4.15). Find-spots include some of the principal sites of the period both on Crete and on the mainland Aegean (for a list of find-spots, see Iacono 2013).

In general terms, the actual numbers of HBW in Aegean contexts is not particularly abundant, mostly constituting isolated finds or small numbers of fragments. The only exception to this general rule being Tiryns (Kilian 2007: 47; see also Stockhammer 2007: 87–89). Despite this relatively low frequency, according to some scholars (primarily Rutter 1990), the cultural impact of this class would have been quite important, influencing also the standard Lustrous Decorated products of early post-palatial times (see Rutter 1990). A good illustration of the paths followed by these influences at a wider Mediterranean scale, from the northern Adriatic to the Aegean, is offered by four vessels, all carinated bowls decorated with a wavy line: an *Impasto* version from S. Rosa di Poviglio in the Terramare, in Aegean-type pottery from Roca, and from Tiryns and Phaistos (see Fig. 4.14 and Iacono 2015, fig. 7).

In some of the contexts where HBW has been recovered, this was associated with Grey Ware, the class of Italian wheel-thrown pottery previously described. Particularly significant is, again, the context of recovery at Tiryns, where most of the HBW and Grey Ware were recovered in the Unterburg, with a certain concentration in Room 127, in which one of the standard Mycenaean carinated bowls with a horned projection was also discovered (see Belardelli and Bettelli 1999; Bettelli 2009). A last class of items composing the repertoire of the ‘westernizing’ objects in the Aegean are Tiryns-type amber beads, whose place of manufacture is likely to be sought in Italy (see Fig. 4.15 and Bellintani 2010a: 145).

The Aegean world in the late palatial and early post-palatial times

From a social and historical point of view, the Aegean context in which the westernizing items and influences appeared is anything but a static one. Synthesizing it here in any comprehensive way is definitely beyond the scope of this work. A number of major trends can be recognized in the period corresponding to the Italian RBA – namely from LH IIIB1 to LH IIIC Middle. LH IIIB in mainland Greece is considered, together with the preceding LH IIIA2, as the apex of the palatial era and a period of major changes in architecture, as well as more broadly in occupational patterns.

New ambitious constructions were erected in the palatial polities: these were probably not only public buildings, but also major private houses (Burns 2007; Shear 1987; Shelton 2010; Tournavitou 1995). Some of these buildings, often

located away from major palatial complexes, have revealed conspicuous traces of capital accumulation identifiable in the presence of non-palatial storage areas, or elite material culture (such as at the complexes often termed the 'House of the Oil Merchant', containing about thirty coarse-ware stirrup jars, and, the House of Ivories at Mycenae; see Day in Tournavitou 1995: 309–316). Such buildings indicate the existence of an elite sector of society that was possibly not directly part of palatial hierarchies, although indubitably having a close relationship with palaces (Nakassis 2013), as attested both by cult practices (i.e. at the House of the Priestess at Tiryns; see Albers 1994: 111) and by the presence in some of these buildings of Linear B tablets (i.e. at the Petsas House and the Ivory Houses at Mycenae; Shelton 2002; Tournavitou 1995).

The building activity at palatial sites culminated in major modifications of the palaces themselves (at Tiryns [Maran 2010]; Pylos [Davis 2010] and Mycenae [Fitzsimmons 2011]), as well as in the construction of massive fortifications at Mycenae, Tiryns and other sites (e.g. Midea and probably also Athens; see Deger-Jalkotzy 2008; Demakopoulou 1995; French 2010; Privitera 2013: 58–72). Likewise, labour-demanding works of water management were constructed at Mycenae, Tiryns and possibly also at Midea (Showleh 2007).

These major changes, mostly dating to the second part of LH IIIB, were accompanied, according to some, by actions that could be interpreted as indicative of the will of palaces to keep control of most of the economic activities, such as, for instance, the shifting of workshops closer to the main palatial complex, as seems to have happened at Mycenae, Pylos and possibly Tiryns (Deger-Jalkotzy 2008: 388; in this last case, the entire Unterburg is interpreted as an area connected with the broader needs of the palace).

It has been suggested that some of these activities (along with others, such as the increase of hoarding) hint, already during LH IIIB2, at the widespread destructions that will occur towards the end of the period and that were anticipated by an earlier, if minor, horizon of destructions already in LH IIIB1 (i.e. Deger-Jalkotzy 2008: 387–392, who proposes a direct linkage with the other elements, suggesting an incoming emergency; for example, the notorious coastal guards mentioned in the Pylos tablets, but see also Palaima 1995).

If this was the situation on the mainland, on Crete after the fall of Knossos (which had already happened by the end of LMIIA2; see Driessen 1990; Popham 1970), there is a certain instability with a resurgence of burial display to bolster claims of eminence (Kanta 2003; Preston 2004). These dynamics resulted in the rise to a pre-eminent role of 'Final Palatial' regional commercial centres, such as Kommos (possibly related to the political and religious centre of Hagia

Triada) and Chania (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2010; Privitera 2015; Shaw and Shaw 2006). As for this last site (which has also Linear B documents relating to this period), its main products seem to have been wine or oil, contained in coarseware stirrup jars. These were often inscribed and travelled widely, mostly around the Aegean and the Levant, but also turned up in the central Mediterranean (see Haskell et al. 2011; Knapp and Demesticha 2017: 70–88; Maran 2005).

The main collapse of the palatial polities had occurred by the end of LH IIIB2, and its intensity and effects were felt all over the Aegean world (for detailed accounts of the destructions, see Cline 2014; Dickinson 2006; Middleton 2010 and papers in Deger-Jalkotzy and Lemos 2006). The LH IIIB2 catastrophe (as it has been named), for which a variety of explanations have been proposed (ranging from ‘external’, to internal and natural factors; for an overview see Cline 2014; Middleton 2012), produced the depopulation of substantial areas (i.e. Messenia, Laconia and partly the Argolid; see Eder 2006: 556; Dickinson 2006: 93; Hope Simpson 1965), while others were less affected and even increased their population (i.e. Achaea and possibly the Ionian Islands, although in this last area the trend is less uniform; see Eder 2006: 557; Moschos 2009a; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999: 137–139). Naturally enough, the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces needs also to be placed within a still wider context – that of the horizon of destructions occurring all over the eastern Mediterranean around the same time and that have been variously linked to movement of the notorious Sea Peoples (themselves often linked back to the central Mediterranean; see Barako 2000; Cline 2014; Middleton 2015; Yasur Landau 2010).

The ensuing post-palatial phase saw the general abandonment of the most typical and ‘symbolic’ palatial structures, accompanied by a resurgence of activity in a selected number of former palatial sites, among which are Mycenae and in particular the lower town of Tiryns⁵ (see French 2010: 676–677; Maran 2010; Thomatos 2006).

Western connections

If this is the situation within the Aegean world in the period comparable to the Italian RBA, also in the central Mediterranean things seem to be more complex than in previous periods. The most important aspect that clearly emerges during this time is the increase of local production of Aegean-type material. As pointed out, this was already under way in Apennine times, but it is only with the RBA that it becomes significant, as suggested by the results of the large-scale research project pursued over many years by Jones and colleagues (Jones et al.

2014; Vagnetti et al. 2009). Both at a site-specific level and at a broader regional setting, the overwhelming majority of Aegean-type material recovered in Subapennine contexts was of local manufacture. This finding appears particularly significant for regions such as Apulia and Calabria, which produce the bulk of the documentation available for this class. Local production was not aimed solely at the imitation of Aegean shapes, but also involved the introduction of entirely local classes of material, namely large wheel-made pithoi (that will become popular only in the FBA; see Chapter 5) and Grey Ware (Belardelli 1994; Guglielmino 1999).

Local production has attached to it a series of associations and inferences that go beyond the sphere of craftsmanship into the domain of social production and organization of local communities. Indeed, as suggested by Levi (2004), it implies the existence of a process of transmission of technical capabilities connected with the use of the wheel and the execution of decoration as well as, in the final stage, the construction and loading of the kiln, which probably constituted the two most cumbersome and time-consuming tasks connected with these activities.

The coast of Apulia starts to be infilled with a large number of find-spots, characterized by small quantities of material, stretching as far as Coppa Nevigata in the north of the region. The really innovative feature of this period, however, is that these find-spots are not limited to the south, but also spread into central and northern Italy, and in particular to the same area in the north that we have mentioned before, that is, the Grandi Valli Veronesi (see Balista and De Guio 1997; De Guio et al. 2009 and Fig. 4.16). Finds are particularly significant for their location, especially if we factor in the background of exchanges that connect the northern and the southern Adriatic (Iacono 2013; Vagnetti et al. 2014: 42–44 with references). Furthermore, the gap between the northern and southern concentration of finds is also being rapidly filled by find-spots in the Marche, as well as in Abruzzo. At Cisterna di Tolentino (Fig. 4.16, no. 1; see Percossi et al. 2005; Vagnetti et al. 2006), Aegean-type pottery was associated with traces of metallurgical activities and stone weights of a type attested in the Terramare area, but also to the south at Coppa Nevigata and in Mycenaean Greece (at Lefkandi, see Cardarelli 2004: 82, 87, fig. 3; Evly 2006: 275, fig. 55.4; Pare 2013: 511–514; Iacono 2016). Both in northern and in central Adriatic Italy, according to a limited number of samples analysed, Aegean-type material predominantly comprised Italian products (either local, regional or from the south, see Jones and Levi 2014: 212–221). At Fondo Paviani, one of the sites with the largest amount of Aegean-type pottery (all coming from a survey) and for which we possess spatial information, the material seems to have been

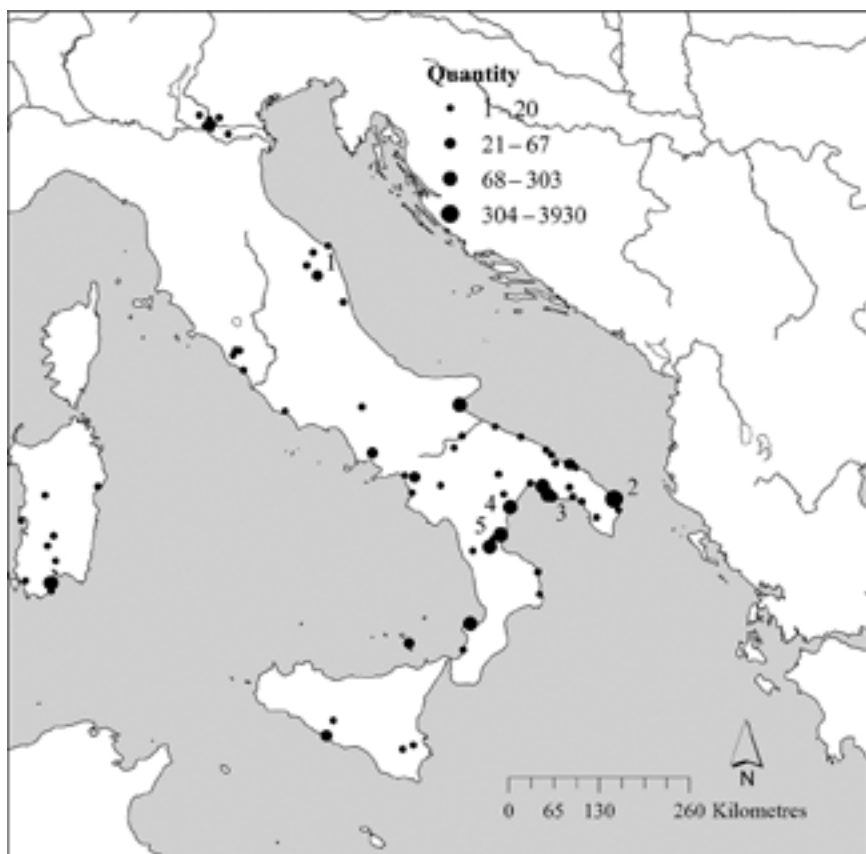


Fig. 4.16 Distribution and quantity of Aegean-type finds in the central Mediterranean during the RBA.

clustered in a specific and limited area of the settlement, rather than uniformly dispersed (Cupitò et al. 2012: 60).

Excluding Roca (Fig. 4.16, no. 2), the largest assemblages dating to the RBA are in the Ionian area, both in Apulia and in Calabria (Iacono 2017; Vagnetti et al. 2014). In Apulia, Scoglio del Tonno/San Domenico (Fig. 4.16, no. 3) continues to provide a large amount of material for these later phases, and to this can be now added the conspicuous assemblages recovered at Porto Perone/Satyrion (about 140 sherds each, largely of local production) and a smaller (but still fairly large) set from Torre Castelluccia (about 30 sherds; see Fisher 1988; Lo Porto 1963, 1964; Taylour 1958; Vagnetti et al. 2014).

Going westward, at Termitito in Basilicata (Fig. 4.16, no. 4), a fairly large assemblage of Aegean-type material (mostly unpublished; see Bianco and De Siena 1982; De Siena 1986) has been recovered in a semi-underground

structure very much like those at Torre Santa Sabina (see Section ‘The individual community during the Recent Bronze Age’; a similar context is also seen at Leuca: Ingravallo 1995). The stylistic peculiarities of the pottery from this site have been recognized by the excavators and are characterized by the popularity of a metopal panel as well as by a few pictorial sherds.

Moving now towards Calabria, another context that has produced a large assemblage of Aegean-type material is the fortified settlement of Torre Mordillo (280 sherds; Arancio et al. 2004; Trucco and Vagnetti 2001), where a hut, possibly with horse-shoe plan at least 6 metres long, has been identified. Unfortunately, due to post-depositional disturbances, the copious Aegean-type material assemblage cannot be connected with any specific phase of the settlement.

Much better preserved and significant from the contextual point of view is the evidence from Broglio di Trebisacce (Fig. 4.16, no. 5; about 1,000 sherds, see Vagnetti et al. 2014: 34, no. 32), one of the main sites of the southern Italian Bronze Age (Peroni and Trucco 1994). The thorough exploration of the settlement has revealed, along with Prototapennine and Apennine occupation, the existence of rich RBA and FBA deposits. Particularly interesting is the evidence in Area D, located on top of one of the terraces constituting the site. Here a large apsidal building has been uncovered (Fig. 4.17; see Moffa 2002). The overwhelming majority of Aegean-type material dating to this phase, as well as of wheel-made Grey Ware, came from this same area (Belardelli 1994; Vagnetti and Panichelli 1994).

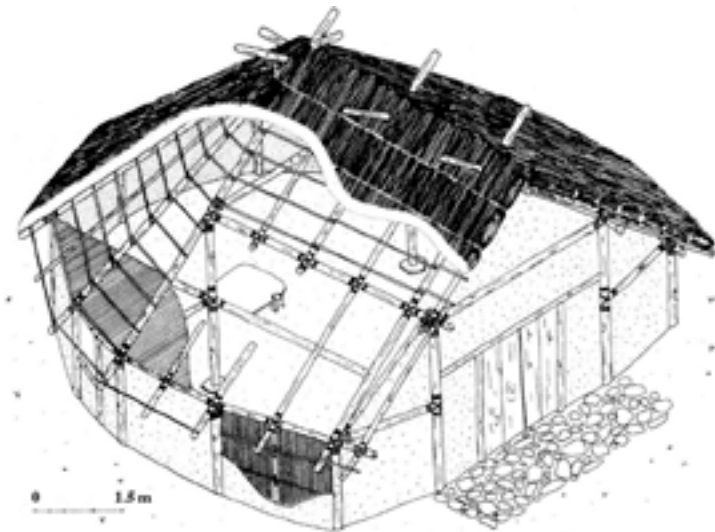


Fig. 4.17 Reconstruction of the Recent Bronze Age hut on the Acropolis of Broglio di Trebisacce.

Other important innovations in the sphere of interaction with the Aegean world occurred on the opposite side of Calabria to the west. The Tyrrhenian 'route' that was documented during Protoapennine and Apennine times seems now to be less significant for the processes responsible for the distribution of Aegean-type materials. Only thirty-five finds are recorded for LH IIIB-C Lipari, which is also the only site in the whole Aeolian archipelago that still provides such material. During this time horizon is to be placed also the so-called Ausonian invasion – the establishment on the island of a material cultural assemblage chiefly inspired by continental Italy (Bietti Sestieri 2010b: 168–169). Campania, for which some evidence of contact was still present during the Apennine period, is now devoid of any Aegean-type finds. A few sherds have been occasionally recovered in the later LH IIIC setting (among the others at Afragola and Pontecagnano; Vagnetti et al. 2014: 36–39), but the gap between the heyday of Vivara (LH I–II) and these sporadic materials (LH IIIC) is substantial. Given this, the finds are more likely to be connected with the broad diffusion of Aegean-type pottery that occurs towards the end of the Bronze Age, rather than with any specific role played by this area.

If the old 'hot-spots' seem now to lack the traditional indicators of contact with the Aegean world, other elements suggest that the overall Tyrrhenian area has not been completely abandoned by international trade circuits. Again in Calabria, the important role of the site of Punta Zambrone has recently emerged. Here the fill of a fortification ditch has returned a considerable quantity of Aegean-type material (some 150 sherds, mostly dating to the beginning of LH IIIC) and a miniature ivory statue (Jung and Pacciarelli 2016; Jung et al. 2015). Besides Calabria, a concentration of Aegean-type material starts now in Sardinia, where a handful of sites have yielded this kind of pottery. The Sardinian connection is a fairly complicated affair whose importance will grow over time, reaching its apex in LH IIIC. This process incorporated a number of different components, above all the Cypriot, whose influence is attested by the large number of oxhide ingots recovered in Late Bronze Age deposits on the island (Lo Schiavo et al. 2009; Vagnetti 1999b). To these same dynamics, which perhaps saw their already modest start in the Apennine, as attested by the Cypriot influence at Thapsos in Sicily and early finds such as the Decimoputzu ivory plaque (see Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Middle Bronze Age' and Vagnetti and Poplin 2005) are probably to be connected the scarce remains of Aegean-type material recovered in Latium, as well as in southern Tuscany (mostly datable to a generic LH IIIB-C horizon; Vagnetti et al. 2014: 40–41).

As for Sicily, some of the main loci of interaction established during the Thapsos age still continue into an initial horizon of the RBA. This is especially true for Cannatello and its hinterland (e.g. Milena with materials of LH III A2-B, D'Agata 2000: 19–59), as well as by Thapsos itself (in the cemetery, Vianello 2005: 163–165; Van Wijngaarden 2002: 229–236). One vessel (a jug of probable central Mediterranean manufacture) is also attested at the newly established chamber tomb cemetery of Pantalica in the Siracusano hinterland, not far from Thapsos. This site has lent its name to the RBA phase in Sicily (for Pantalica North, see Alberti 2011; Leighton 1999: 149–50). Pantalica presents intriguing features that have been interpreted as indicators of the development of social differentiation within local communities. These are identified primarily in the establishment of a large cemetery with about 4,000 rock-cut tombs, endowed with a rich metal and pottery assemblage, in the gorge of the Anapo Valley, as well as, supposedly, in the construction of the famous *anaktoron*, a large stone building endowed with a complex plan (Fig. 4.18; see Bernabò Brea 1990; Leighton 2011, 2015; Orsi 1889, 1899; Tanasi 2004a). Regarding this last element, however, while some scholars stress the continuity with the Levantine influence attested also in the settlement of Thapsos (Tommasello 1996), others either downplay such



Fig. 4.18 Pantalica rock-cut tombs.

elements in the architectural layout of this building (Vianello 2005) or even question its date (Leighton 1999: 155–157; 2011).⁶

The same Pantalica North phase (which also includes the evidence from the other important cemetery of Montagna di Caltagirone) is, again according to Tanasi (Tanasi 2004a,b, 2005; see also Bietti Sestieri 1979), characterized by the presence of numerous elements borrowed from the Aegean repertoire. However, some of the metal items mentioned (i.e. jewellery) have, as admitted by the same scholar (Tanasi 2004a: 344), only vague connections with the Mycenaean world. As for pottery recovered at the site (Tanasi 2005, pl. CXXIX), while some of the comparisons with Aegean material are fairly close (i.e. the local hydria and the collar-necked jar FS 64 nos. 3–4), others appear more equivocal. The Mycenaean askos (nos. 9–10; a container for precious liquids like oil), which is compared to a local shape, is an extremely rare vessel (most of the examples date to an LH I–II, that is, Mountjoy 1999: 314, no. 4).⁷ Much more frequent in an LH IIIB and C time frame (albeit still rare) is the tubular version of the same shape (e.g. Mountjoy 1986: 81, 108), which is fairly distinct from the vessels from Pantalica. Local amphorae are indeed similar to the Mycenaean examples (nos. 1–2), but there are also plenty of vessels with horizontal handles (*anse a maniglia*) in RBA Italy which could have provided an inspiration. Finally, a ‘teapot’ vessel seems much closer in shape to a Cypriot Base-ring juglet than to a full-sized jug with filter (nos. 5–6; another extremely rare shape), which seems feasible in the light of the evidence of contact between Thapsos and the Levantine area during the MBA. Taken all together, these considerations suggest that, after all, the distribution of Aegean-type pottery credibly indicates that the amount of interaction between Sicily and the Aegean world sharply declined after the Thapsos times (possibly in connection with similar phenomena occurring in the southern Tyrrhenian), while a new western Mediterranean trade circuit, in which Cyprus was also strongly involved and whose main sphere of action was metallurgy, was gradually coming into being (to become even more evident later on; Giardino 1995; Vagnetti 1999b). Similarities between Aegean-type and local pottery may well have been the outcome of the local evolution of contact during earlier (Thapsos) times, but the remarkable development of social differentiation within eastern Sicily was likely a process in which specifically Aegean influences were not particularly strong (Russell 2017).

This is all profoundly different from the situation that we have seen in Southern Italy and specifically in Apulia. The range of material connections shown by the material from Roca is remarkable, with materials from both the

Peloponnese and Western Crete, inclusive of rarities like coarse-ware stirrup jars and a stone seal (Guglielmino 2009; Guglielmino et al. 2010; Iacono 2010). And yet it should also be remarked that at this site, one of the most integrated into transnational connections, local production is also equally important: as it can be seen by the locally made shapes inspired by Subapennine tradition (e.g. carinated cups and bowls; Pagliara et al. 2007: 344, IV.48), as well as by highly hybridized products. This last, interestingly, mixes a variety of individual features coming from the Late Palatial Aegean repertoire into a new whole, but not one recognized by any palatial craftsman. Take, for instance, a hydria that features once again a Minoan motif on a Mycenaean shape (with a very unusual decorated handle; Fig. 4.19). For this shape, as for the MBA cup described in the previous chapter (Fig. 3.19), we can call upon the postcolonial concept of mimicry (Loren 2013), that is, the use of recognizable ‘foreign’ features with the aim of mocking and creating a subversion of the aesthetics of those imitated (Bhabha 1994: 115) – that is, Aegean partners – who, as we will see, are arguably not going to be hegemonic in their relationship with southern Italian social groups for much longer.



Fig. 4.19 Roca: Hybrid hydria in local style.

The southern Adriatic during the Recent Bronze Age: Modes of Production and Interaction

Capital accumulation in the Adriatic community

At the settlement level, a reduction in the number of sites may hint at a decreased importance for strategies of fission and resettlement in a new place for local lineages (Scott 2009: 215). A certain degree of nucleation might have been in place, and sites surviving in the RBA were more frequently those on the coast endowed with fortifications, although this process is not uniform through the region.

Less ambiguous changes occur in primary production. Along with the constant preponderance of cereal cultivation and now the development of the use of pulses, the most evident novelty is the possible introduction of olive exploitation (see Fiorentino 1998: 217; Primavera et al. 2017). *Olea europea* as a species was, of course, endemic to the whole Mediterranean, and early domestication of olives has been claimed for various areas of the Mediterranean on various grounds (Besnard and Bervillé 2000; Heltzer and Eitam 1987; Margaritis 2013), including Southern Italy (D'Auria et al. 2017), but, until recently, the traces for such practice in Apulia were limited to a number of olive stones recovered in a few archaeological contexts (among others Monopoli and, as has recently emerged, Roca; Fiorentino 1998: 218; Primavera et al. 2017)

The pollen diagram from the Alimini lake published almost ten years ago has revealed the existence of a considerable peak in the incidence of this species, particularly around 1100 BC, which corresponds exactly to the last phase of the local RBA (Di Rita and Magri 2009: 303–304). Macro-climatic trends seem not to have played a role in this, suggesting an explanation possibly connected with agricultural exploitation (Primavera et al. 2017: 93). This is, after all, not entirely surprising as the consumption of olive derivatives (i.e. oil) has been attested in the area at least since Protoapennine times (Evans and Recchia 2003), and this became systematic at least from Apennine times (i.e. see the LH IIIA2 stirrup jars at sites like Scoglio del Tonno; Fisher 1988; Taylour 1958).

As far as faunal remains are concerned, the Subapennine phase sees a decrease in the number of wild species, with an increase in the incidence of domesticates, which now account for almost the totality (91 per cent) of the assemblages. In turn, this suggests a greater availability of surplus/fodder to feed them. Particularly relevant appears to have been the proportion in this period of

sheep/goats, for which the exploitation for secondary products on a scale larger than ever can perhaps be postulated (De Grossi-Mazzorin 2010).

All these elements may suggest that capital was being accumulated in the region, more than during the MBA. At the same time, however, and all over Apulia, not much capital was ‘expended’. As has been highlighted, lavish burial rites are absent (with the exception of the later phases of Trinitapoli; see Section ‘The individual community during the Middle Bronze Age’), and large-scale public works are not particularly evident. Although in relation to the total number of the sites, the number of fortifications is higher than in the previous period, yet none of these had been built *ex novo* during this phase, with the exception of Roca’s.

A new meaning for local networks

What instead definitely increases in this phase are the traces of interaction, both at an intra-regional level and over the long range. As far as the first point is concerned, the network analysis illustrated in this chapter has demonstrated a considerable growth in the number of stylistic features shared between each site. As has been underlined before (see Chapter 1), each of the real-world encounters implied by interaction as attested in the ceramic record entailed some form of capital exchange and, consequently, the Subapennine evidence testifies a consistent increase in the circulation of surplus. This process was perhaps helped by the introduction of efficient pack animals such as donkeys, now attested in the region (Bökönyi and Siracusano 1987). Such a trend was accompanied by a decrease in the overall variability in the *Impasto* assemblage from Apennine to Subapennine times. Even if the increase in circulation probably played a role in this gradual process of homogenization, the change is unlikely to have occurred without significant social implications. The gradual disappearance of decoration through the Subapennine marks the probable loss of much of the ‘identity’ expressed through pottery that was postulated in the previous chapter. Also, the possible association of this material with metal prototypes (Damiani 2004) speaks of substantial changes in the value system of local communities (Iacono 2016).

People and things in a pan-Mediterranean network

Returning to interaction *per se*, a purely ‘regional’ perspective starts to carry less weight as linkages now stretch from central and northern Italy, even to Crete.

A few years ago (Iacono 2013), I argued for the existence of informal exchanges in metals between continental Italy and the late palatial and early post-palatial Aegean, on the basis of the co-occurrence of HBW and urnfield bronzes at some key sites. The result of these activities was a diffuse process of ‘westernization’ of Aegean material culture which left its traces in the most disparate domains of production (Iacono 2013). Although growing as time went by (Jung et al. 2008, 2011), the evidence in terms of direct imports of metalwork, on which such a hypothesis was grounded, is not overwhelming.

At the opposite end of this long-range interaction, namely in Italy, find-spots of Aegean-type material are now widespread, particularly on the Ionian and Adriatic coasts, and pottery is almost always produced locally. The small quantities and the lack of deposition in tombs seem to certify that, at least in a mature horizon of the RBA, this material has finally and completely escaped its earlier status as a ‘luxury’. Aegean-type materials appear to have been regularly present at sites which were central in local networks of interaction. If these elements are considered together with the high level of connectivity of these networks during the RBA, it is probably not correct to consider Aegean-type material as an exogenous feature at this time. If Lustrous Decorated pottery ceased to be an Aegean element in the central Mediterranean, then this aspect corresponds to a decrease in the ‘influence’ of the Minoan/Mycenaean world. This could mean, according to our approach (Section ‘A radical paradigm’), either a decrease of intensity in interaction, which is ruled out both by what was happening in the Aegean and by the greater incidence of coastal sites, or – and this is more likely – a more balanced stance achieved by Adriatic societies in their Relations of Interaction towards the Aegean world. And this finding will lead us to read the large assemblages recovered in Apulia in a different light.

In the central Mediterranean, the presence of resident Mycenaean potters or potters with direct training in the Aegean or by Aegean people somewhere can be and has been suggested (Borgna and Levi 2015; Guglielmino 1999). This seems plausible, particularly in an early period (i.e. MBA), given the pattern and the range of mobility attested in the archaeological record from continental Italy to the Aegean just presented (Bettelli 2002: 71; Levi 2004: 234; Vagnetti and Jones 1991). The way this know-how was transmitted is difficult to assess. It might have involved those people who arguably were carrying out pottery production in an earlier period (perhaps women), or maybe not. Notwithstanding the identity of those involved, one thing appears certain: production had, by the RBA, largely moved out of the ambit of the household.

Specialization now characterizes the ceramic production, as has been claimed by most of the scholars working in the field. Undoubtedly there are many elements suggesting this. The production of Aegean-type pottery entailed the use of a number of new tools, techniques and facilities, ranging from basins for the levigation of the clays, to potter's wheels and semi-permanent kilns, probably constructed with a double chamber and able to reach a temperature of 850 to 1,050°C (firing of *Impasto* never exceeded 850°C; see Levi 1999: 94; 2004). The social consequences of specialization are well known and involve the ability of society to produce enough surplus to support the specialists at least part of the time (Costin 1991, 2005, 2007; Borgna and Levi 2015). Such a specialization might have involved skilled craftsmen, that is, in the sense used by Mary Helms (1993), directly connected with people politically powerful and/or influential. This would be consistent with the use of their products in subtle strategies of exclusion during the feasting event at Roca where only a small number of participant had access to Aegean drinking vessels (Iacono 2015). All in all, however, as in no Adriatic communities can evident traces of institutionalized hierarchies be spotted, it is unlikely that this process produced extensive drainage of labour to the favour of selected groups in the same way as in state societies (e.g. Patterson 2005)

Specialization aside, the discussion has already singled out elements hinting at major investments on the part of the community at least in the case of Roca: the occurrence of relatively lavish feasting practices suggested in Area IX and the new technique adopted for rebuilding the fortification of the site, which entailed the use of large squared stone blocks. This last was not only new, but also far more labour intensive than that previously attested, which involved primarily the use of drystone walling.

All this implies that this horizon coincided with a period of major capital accumulation; the pattern of visible connections show that the new sources of this capital sprang from the exchanges both with Adriatic northern Italy and with the surrounding RBA sites, as revealed by the unprecedentedly high level of connectivity emerging from the network analysis. Therefore, if there was more surplus available to the community as a whole, it is probable that there were also more resources available to the groups involved in interaction, to be invested for the improvement of their position in their relations of interaction with their Aegean partners. In a Late Bronze Age context, this might have meant accessing sailing technology and (again at Roca) there are clues for this, as we will see in the next chapter.

Because of the extraordinary nature of the evidence provided by the RBA sequence at Roca, it is at present difficult to assess whether the increase in the Relations of Interaction of Adriatic groups with respect to their Aegean partners involved applies only to this centre or constitutes a more generalized pattern. Various elements in the contextual evidence from other southern Italian sites, such as the large apsidal buildings at Scoglio del Tonno (however unreliable its plan is) and at Broglio, or again the feasting here and at Coppa, seem to suggest that the latter possibility might have been the case.

Old Connections and New Equilibria at the End of the Southern Adriatic Bronze Age (1100–1000 BC)

The individual community during the Final Bronze Age

The community

Many of the processes observed in their embryonic stages in the Recent Bronze Age (RBA) come to full term only in the subsequent Final Bronze Age (FBA) phase (Table 5.1).

When the general pattern of occupation is reviewed, the FBA is clearly characterized by both elements of ‘continuity’ and ‘discontinuity’ (Fig. 5.1). The different zones identified in the previous chapters (coastal, near-coastal and hinterland) continue to be occupied in much the same proportions, with only minimal differences. The number of new sites established, however, increase considerably from Subapennine times, perhaps hinting that the decrease of the number of settlements within the region previously noticed (see Section ‘The individual community during the Recent Bronze Age’) had now stopped. A new trend was underway – one of a slower, more capillary, occupation of the landscape, that extended well into the Early Iron Age (EIA; Recchia and Ruggini 2009: 42).

Table 5.1 Distribution of sites in Apulia during the RBA and the FBA

Sites:	RBA	FBA
Coastal	28	27
Semi-coastal	17	24
Hinterland	22	25
Lakeside	2	0
Total	69	76

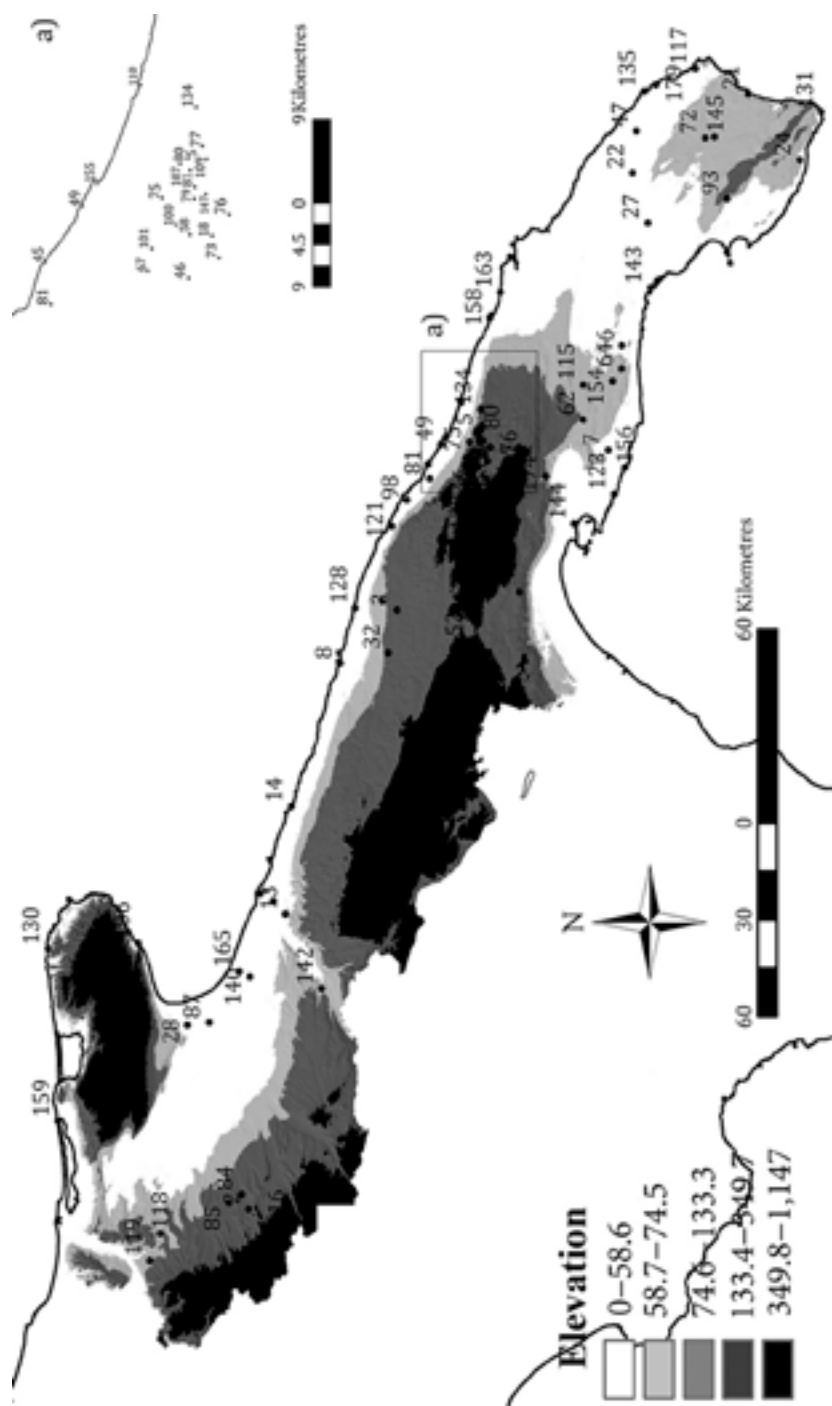


Fig. 5.1 FBA sites in Apulia.

Among FBA sites, a slightly larger proportion appears to have walls (30 per cent vs. 27 per cent in the previous period). However, only a minority are actually built during this period, while the majority are of earlier construction: in many cases it is not confirmed whether they were still used (Cazzella and Moscoloni 1998). Two secure examples of FBA walls are those from Salapia and Roca (where, as we will see, the fortifications are again rebuilt), while the construction of the Scalo di Furno walls remains more difficult to date (due to the lack of final publication; see Lo Porto 1990; Guglielmino and Pagliara 2004; Rossi 2011).

As in the Subapennine/RBA, a dearth of tombs remains characteristic of the FBA/Protovillanovan period. This class of evidence is represented almost exclusively by the continued use of cemeteries established in the previous period; new contexts are very rare. An example of the first case is Torre Castelluccia, where the cremation cemetery contains tombs dating to the Protovillanovan (Orlando 1995; Vanzetti 2002). New contexts are attested to the north of the region, namely at Madonna del Petto near Barletta (Muntoni 1998, 2010). Here is encountered the earliest attestation of the *enchytrismos* ritual (i.e. inhumation inside pottery vessels): these burials are probably located within the settlement, rather than in 'formal' extramural burial areas like dolmens and cremation cemeteries.

Another interesting innovation related to this phase is the reuse of old tombs. Particularly significant is an example from Vanze (the related settlement is possibly Fondo Lafranca; Orlando 1995: 27–28), where an individual was inhumed in the chamber of one of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) dolmen mounds: the deposition was accompanied by a violin bow fibula dating to the FBA.

One of the most important characteristics of the FBA is undoubtedly metal hoarding (Bietti Sestieri 1973, 2010a; Peroni 1996: 362–364). Such a practice, for which unfortunately contextual data are often scant, appears to have already started in the region in the previous period, although it acquired a noteworthy dimension only during Protovillanovan times. Dating to the end of the RBA is the famous hoard of Surbo (Bietti Sestieri 1973), as well as another one recovered at Torre Castelluccia (Gorgoglione et al. 1993). That from Surbo is particularly interesting as it included, among a wealth of other objects, an Aegean-type F sword. This hoard has been interpreted by Bietti Sestieri as belonging to an Aegean bronzesmith (see Bietti Sestieri 1973: 388, 2008: 151). Hoards are fairly widespread in Apulia (Fig. 5.2; see Peroni 1996: 362–364) and their composition is quite variable. Some contain only one type of object (such as that from Salapia), and others are heterogeneous (such as that from Scorrano), regularly including axes, chisels, hammers and occasionally ornaments (primarily pins,



Fig. 5.2 Distribution of hoards in Final Bronze/Early Iron Age Apulia: (1) Torre Castelluccia; (2) Manduria; (3) Avetrana; (4) Copertino; (5) Surbo; (6) Roca (two hoards); (7) Scorrano; (8) Soleto; (9) Mottola; (10) Reinzano; (11) Montenero; (12) Salapia.

but also necklaces and others; Bietti Sestieri 1973; Peroni 1996: 363–364). In the very few cases where data on the deposition circumstances are available (at Reinzano, Roca and Torre Castelluccia; see Gorgoglione et al. 1993; Maggiulli 2009; Peroni 1996: 363), items had been placed in *Impasto* vessels, but other modes of deposition are also attested (i.e. hoard of gold at Roca; see later in the chapter and Maggiulli 2009). The cumbersome nature of certain deposits (i.e. at Manduria, with 117 shaft-hole axes; see Quagliati 1903: 109) suggests that in some cases the objects were simply placed in a pit in the ground. Besides their possible cultic significance, hoards undoubtedly offer an interesting snapshot on metallurgy in Apulia at this time. As noted by Guglielmino (2006a), it is curious to note how the southern half of the region, that is, the Salento peninsula – which incidentally is the place with the highest concentration of metal hoards, yielded the largest collection of bronzesmithing hammers in the entire Italian peninsula, despite being completely devoid of any raw material.

Other aspects connected to what might be defined as ‘production’ are those related to new pottery classes that surface at this time. One is the local dark-on-light-painted fine pottery that goes under the name of Southern Italian

Protogeometric (SIP), on which more will be said soon. The other is made of large storage containers – *dolia* or pithoi (which start earlier in the RBA, but become definitely more frequent now) – and decorated basins. These incorporate much from the Aegean-type manufacturing technologies, being formed with the aid of the wheel and, in the case of the basins, painted (see Guglielmino 1999, for technological details).¹ Pithoi (Fig. 5.3) were large and ovoid (for liquids), while basins, which are found only in the south of Apulia, were compact and open (possibly used for grains and other semi-solid substances). The latter were decorated with motifs typical of local Protogeometric pottery.

Concerning settlements and their organization, some of the RBA structures recognized in the previous chapter continued to be used now in the subsequent period also, as in the case of Coppa Nevigata and Torre Santa Sabina (see Section ‘The individual community during the Recent Bronze Age’ and Cazzella and Recchia 2012b; Coppola and Raimondi 1998; Recchia 2009). At Coppa, instead of being dispersed along the line of fortifications as was the case in the MBA, storage of agricultural surplus is now concentrated in a spot that is more easily controlled by whoever possessed/was in control of the main structure in the area (Fig. 5.4; see Cazzella and Recchia 2013).

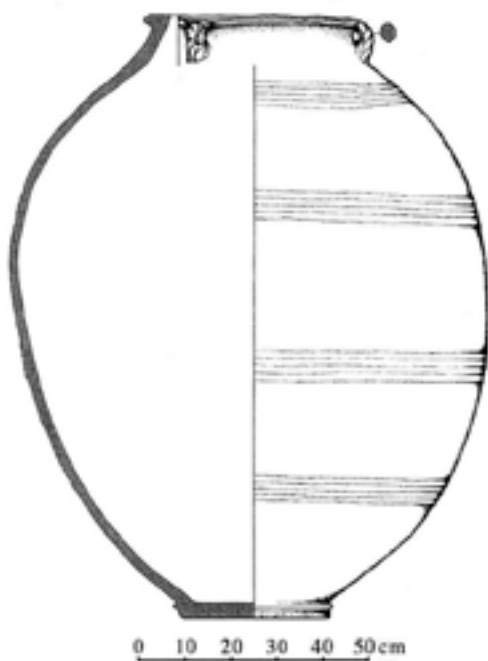


Fig. 5.3 Wheel-made pithos from Area VI at Roca.

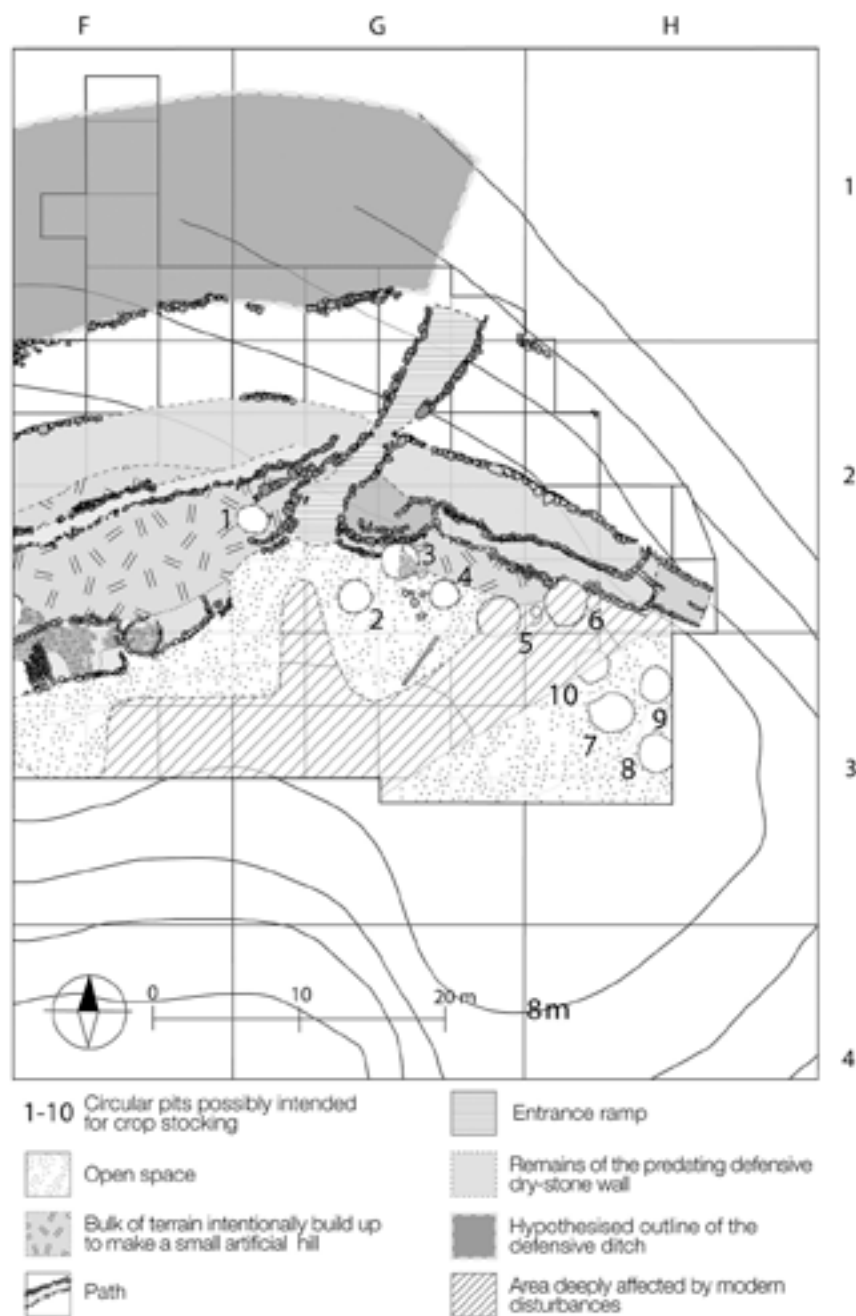


Fig. 5.4 Storage pits at FBA at Coppa Nevigata.

At Torre Castelluccia, a complex stone building existed, perhaps relating to the very end of the FBA (i.e. the turn of the tenth century BC). Although not much can be said about it (Gorgoglione et al. 1993: 30), its plan shows many rooms; the use of stones as building material represents an innovation for the local domestic architecture. At Punta Meliso (Santa Maria di Leuca; Fig. 5.1 no. 131), FBA occupation has been identified on top of the remains of the Subapennine village. Buildings (Fig. 5.5) were probably small,

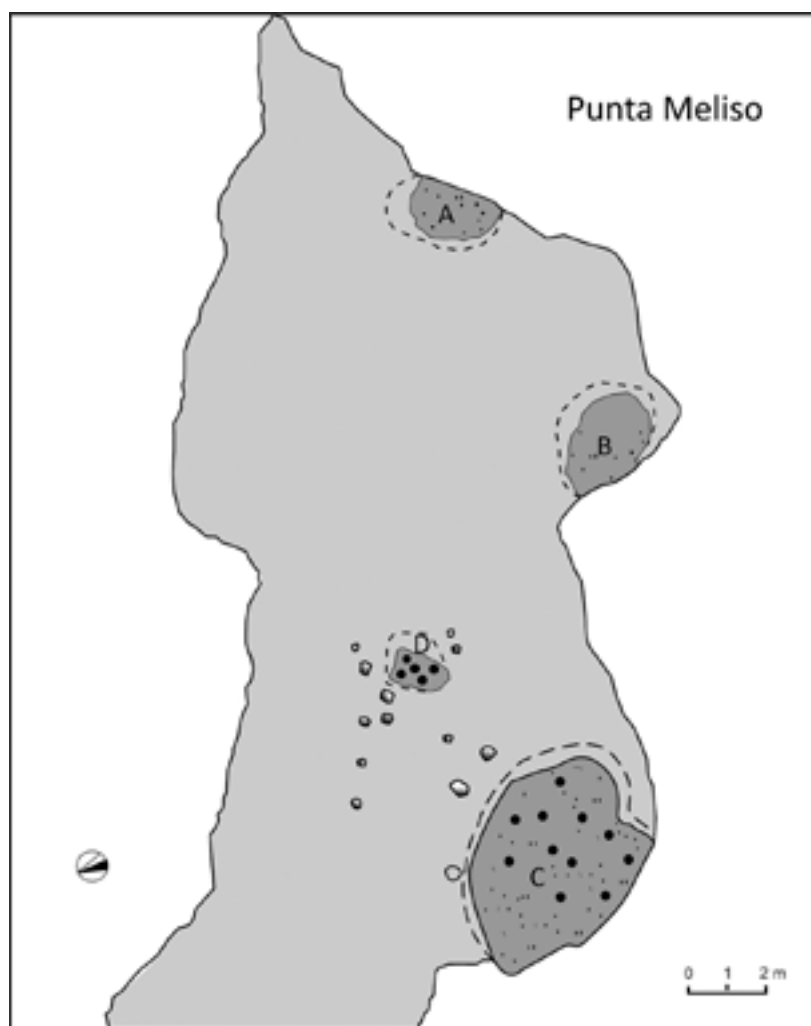


Fig. 5.5 Structural remains and distribution of Aegean-type material (dots) at Punta Meliso (S. Maria di Leuca): (A) Hut 1; (B) Hut 2; (C) Hut 3; (D) storage pit; (E) potsherd pavement.

semi-underground huts of about 2.5×3 metres; one larger example measured some 6.40×4.70 metres (Cremonesi 1978; Orlando 1997): they belong to a family of structures well attested since the MBA in Apulia. Along with these huts, other buildings identified include a possible silo and a somewhat earlier potsherd pavement, probably connected with a hut.

A semi-underground structure nearly identical to those of Leuca (in this case endowed also with perimeter postholes) has also been identified at Otranto in Area 3 (Orlando 1996). Although the archaeological layers connected with its occupation were almost completely cleared out by later EIA deposits, the analysis of material indicates that the structure was occupied through most of the FBA; two small pits have been connected by the excavator with iron production (Orlando 1996: 236).

At Roca, the FBA is one of the periods best represented, not least because it has been sealed by a vast fire event involving much of the site. Before this catastrophe, the whole settlement underwent considerable structural changes. The fortifications were once more reconstructed, using a new technique that involves wooden posts, broad and well wedged into their hole (thus, arguably they were also tall; see Guglielmino and Pagliara 2004: 571). The same technique is adapted for the construction of a number of massive modular buildings, measuring in some cases tens of metres in length, that are characterized by regularly spaced posts and set on narrow streets (Pagliara et al. 2008: 241–248). In one of these buildings (measuring on one side at least 20 metres in length), four large pithoi were recovered, whose overall capacity was about 2,400 litres (Guglielmino 1999). Another one which has been nicknamed the ‘temple hut’, measures an astonishing 40×16 metres, and has postholes that are up to 1 metre wide (Fig. 5.6a). Inside, besides benches and traces of internal furnishings, some five pithoi and an extremely rich assemblage including pottery, clay figurines, ivory, amber and abundant metalwork were recovered (Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011, 2017; Scarano and Maggiulli 2014). Furthermore, two metal hoards had been buried to the north-west and south-west of the structure. One (aptly termed the *hoard of gold*) was primarily composed of small items, including a good number of objects in gold, including four solar discs in relief of gold foil (Fig. 5.6b and Maggiulli 2006). The other (*hoard of the bronzes*) was bulkier and had collected together fragments of various tools and ingots: it totalled some 16 kilograms of metal when retrieved (Maggiulli 2009). Close to the first hoard, the carbonized skeletons of three piglets associated with a double axe have been interpreted as the remains of ritual activity (Pagliara 2005: 633). Other traces of metalworking have been found in Area XII, where a number of casting moulds

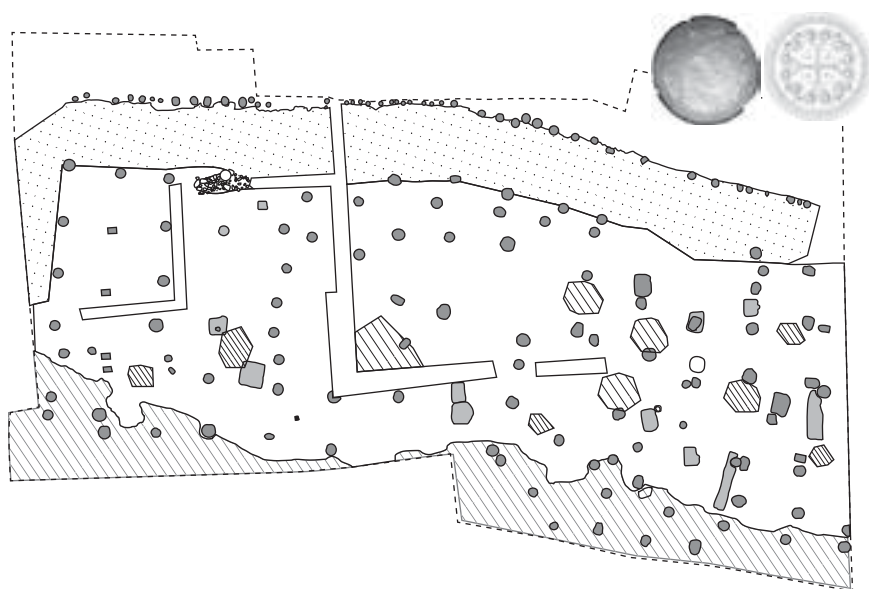


Fig. 5.6 Roca: Temple hut and, in upper right corner, discs in gold sheet.

have been uncovered together with parts of a bellows (Guglielmino 2006a). A limited overlap between the metal types of the two hoards and those attested in the stone moulds recovered in Area XII can be observed. Apart from the hammer (Guglielmino 2006a: 39–41; Maggiulli 2009, no. 1.28; see also Bietti Sestieri 2008), the knife (Bietti Sestieri 2008; Guglielmino 2006a: 41–43; Maggiulli 2009, no. 1.34) and the two Scorrano axes (from a total of more than seventy axes and axe fragments; see Guglielmino 2006a: 43–44; Maggiulli 2009, no. 1.16–17), no other items are attested in both contexts. The hammer and the knife, together with the double axes previously mentioned (but see later in the chapter), constitute the items of clearest Aegean inspiration from the whole repertoire of bronzes dating to this phase at Roca. As noted by Guglielmino (2006a, note 79), a spearhead similar to that of the Roca mould is recorded in Achaea.

Connections

A limited number of sites dating to the FBA have produced Aegean-type material dating to a comparable time frame (Late Helladic [LH] IIIC Middle-Late). Although the sites constitute neither the only nor the most important locales of interaction recognizable in Apulia now, they undoubtedly provide a good starting point. It should be noted, however, that many of the sites with

material generically datable to LH IIIC do have a FBA occupation too. In the absence of precise contextual data, it is therefore necessary to bear in mind that the material from at least some of these sites might date to such a later horizon.

Some information is available for Porto Perone – Satyrion, where Aegean-type material is attested both on the ‘acropolis’ (Satyrion) and in the lower village (Porto Perone; see Lo Porto 1963: 341–343, 1964: 263–264). The material from Satyrion was not associated with specific structures (it was loose in Layer d), while the assemblage from Porto Perone was with simple huts (Lo Porto 1963: 285, fig. 5) that showed a remarkable structural continuity (in shape and size) with those of earlier periods.

At Roca, much of the FBA areas explored so far have yielded some Aegean-type pottery. This however might have partly dated to earlier phases and have been pulled up to the surface in digging the larger postholes for the FBA buildings. Regardless, the late Aegean chronology of some of the material guarantees that at least some of the pottery (which includes also imports) was actually used in these structures.

Together with Roca, the other main node of interaction with the Aegean was the nearby site of Punta Meliso at Santa Maria di Leuca (Fig. 5.5; see Cremonesi 1978; Ingravallo 1995; Orlando 1997).

A number of semi-hypogeal structures of limited dimensions (with one larger, that is, Hut 3) have been excavated here, along with the remains of a silo. A relatively large assemblage of Aegean-type ceramic material, totalling about 300 sherds, has been recovered in association with these structures (Benzi and Graziadio 1996). The majority was identified in the larger structure, Hut 3, while only minor concentrations were in the storage pit and no finds whatsoever in the other huts (see Fig. 5.5). As at FBA Roca, the material showed evidence of considerable post-depositional movement, with many joins existing between different levels, but the occupation of most structures was confined only to the FBA (Benzi and Graziadio 1996). All in all, the context of recovery seems to indicate a situation which is a mixture between the traditional trend recorded on the Adriatic since the MBA, where modest quantities of material were scattered in huts, and that recognized for Recent and FBA Roca, where numerous vessel shapes are connected with wine consumption.

As far as contextual detail is concerned, Punta Meliso proves an exception. Not much, for instance, can be said about the few sherds of late material recovered at Madonna del Petto during the 1960s and 1970s (Muntioni 1995: 179–183, 189) and even less is known for Scoglio del Tonno, another site with Aegean-type material dating to these later phases (Quagliati 1900).²

The small-scale network during the Final Bronze Age

Southern Italian Protogeometric Pottery

As explained earlier, the frequency and ubiquity of Aegean-type material in settlements is nonetheless substantially diminished from what was the case in the previous Subapennine period. This situation has arisen probably because another class of pottery has now taken up the role as the quality product in Late Bronze Age (LBA) Apulian contexts, one previously played by the Aegean-type material. This is Southern Italian Protogeometric pottery (henceforth SIP; see Fig. 5.7a, b, c, e). This new class emerges during the FBA and will continue to be produced into the EIA. Through this period the traditional *Impasto* pottery (Protovillanovan; see Fig. 5.7d, f) displays now even less variability than in the previous Subapennine. Indeed, most of the typical Subapennine plastic



Fig. 5.7 Protovillanovan (d, f) and SIP Pottery (a, b, c, e) from Roca.

projections and decorated handles disappears, leaving only grooved decoration, which had appeared in the mature phase of RBA.

SIP is a fine pottery of local (or regional) production (Jones et al. 2014: 141, 146, 151), characterized by a dark, matt-painted decoration (for this reason it is also known as matt-painted pottery; see Herring 1998; Yntema 1990). The fabric is normally light brown in colour, but the exterior usually acquires a cream hue that endows the vessels with their distinctive light ground. As with the pithoi, so too the firing temperatures of SIP occurred at around 900°C (Ronca 2005: 32; Yntema 1990: 19), and so the potters required know-how close to that necessary for the production of Aegean-type pottery. It has been surmised that the relationship between SIP and pithoi is extremely close and that the two classes were produced in the same workshops (Levi 1999: 260–261). The connection is underlined by the existence of the SIP-painted basins, which have a more restricted distribution (essentially limited to Salento), and use a similar forming technique as the pithoi. Apart from basins, the rest of the SIP appears to have been less uniform in its manufacturing technology. Yntema (1990: 19) excludes the use of the wheel, and while in recent years, the evidence for it has increased (Madonna del Petto: Laviano et al. 1995; Coppa Nevigata: Boccuccia 1998), in general terms its employment was far from being regular. The large size of many SIP vessels, together with their decorative elaboration, has suggested that SIP constituted a prestige product (Bettelli and Levi 2003; Ronca 2005: 44–46). Even if, as noted by Yntema (1990), such a hypothesis is grounded on ephemeral contextual evidence, the firing of large quality vessels at high temperatures demanded abundant fuel, and decorating them was a further addition to the labour requirements. Technological features aside, the high value of this class of material can be inferred also by its relative rarity (i.e. Muntoni [1995: 190] suggests a frequency of about 4 per cent for Madonna del Petto), as well as by the frequent presence of mended vessels (e.g. Pagliara and Guglielmino 2005: 309, no. II.196).

As for the distribution of SIP, a growing number of find-spots have been recovered over a vast portion of Southern Italy, ranging from Abruzzo to Lipari and southeastern Sicily (Fig. 5.8; Di Fraia 1995; Ronca 2005; Yntema 1990). However, despite appearing definitely if diffusely beyond Apulia, the concentration of finds clearly indicates that this region, perhaps together with the Ionian part of Basilicata and to a minor extent Calabria, constituted the ‘core area’ of the SIP phenomenon. As noted by Yntema (1990), the distribution of SIP overlaps to a considerable extent with that of LH IIIC pottery (see later in the chapter and Fig. 5.8), but many regions with find-spots of late Aegean-type pottery do not yield SIP finds. This is the case of Tyrrhenian continental Italy

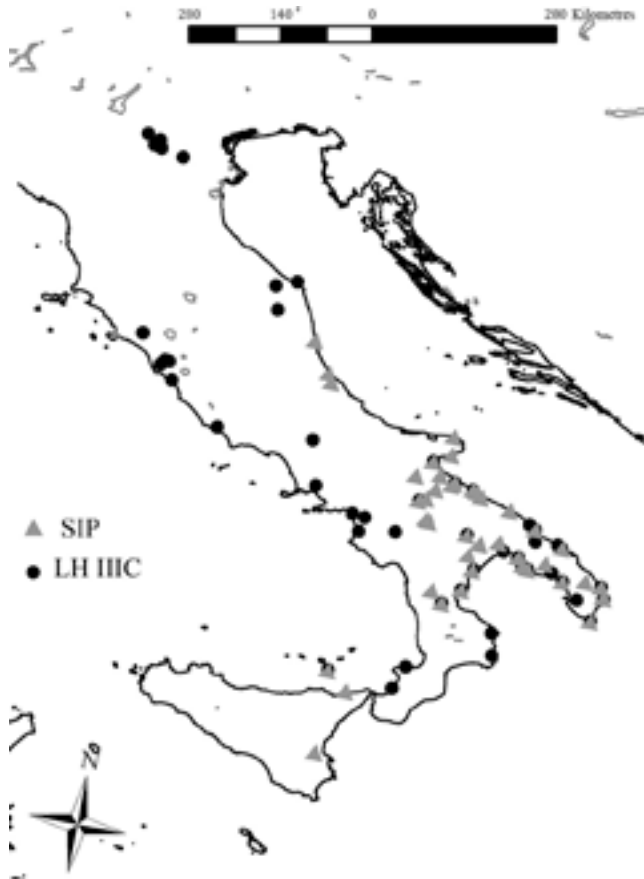


Fig. 5.8 Distributions of SIP and Aegean-type pottery of LH IIIIC date.

(above all Campania and Latium), as well as of Sardinia where local production of Aegean-type pottery occurred during LH IIIIC (Jones and Levi 2014: 242–251). With the possible exclusion of Lipari, the material recovered in Sicily too is only superficially analogous to the core SIP production – limited to a few decorative motifs. The pedestalled basin from Metapiccola near Catania (Rizza 1962), excluding its zigzag decoration, is similar to known Thapsos-Pantalica vessels. As for ‘standard’ SIP pottery, the shapes owe most to the *Impasto* Protovillanovan pottery (Herring 1998: 41–42). Yntema (1990: 26) earlier noted the closeness between the two classes of products, suggesting Protovillanovan grooved decoration as a source for some of the simplest motifs attested on SIP. Possible connections with Mycenaean pottery in western Greece have also been noticed by Borgna (2013: 142, note 36) and used to suggest chronological parallels.

The SIP network

Given its preferential distribution in Apulia, as well as the many ties with traditional *Impasto* production, the choice of SIP for the construction of the FBA small-scale network appears an obvious one. As with previous periods, only stylistic features (in this case painted decoration) are taken into consideration. As the chronological span of SIP goes well into the Iron Age, the network analysis here includes only those contexts relevant, namely those with material dating to the FBA. The general procedures followed are the same as described in Chapter 3. In the specific case of SIP, it is necessary to take into consideration the hybrid nature of this style, with its roots in both Protovillanovan *Impasto* and Aegean-type pottery (as mentioned previously). It could be argued that the similarities and shared motifs within SIP do not reflect horizontal communication, but rather independent and parallel development from common sources either in *Impasto* or in Aegean-type pottery. As for the latter, while this is undoubtedly possible, given the rarity of LH IIIC Late material in Apulia, it appears reasonable to believe that if pre-existing Aegean influences played a role in the distribution of the SIP decorative repertoire, this was probably quite a small one. Rather different is the case of Protovillanovan *Impasto* material: this is, naturally enough, plentiful in the region during the FBA. It can, however, be noted that within the larger corpus of FBA *Impasto* pottery, complex decorations (those which may have credibly provided a model for SIP) are extremely rare. Furthermore, these Protovillanovan links do not reduce the potential worth of the network analysis as a basis for revealing regional small-scale networks; to the contrary, they increase it. The communication expressed by the network is seen to be a 'layered' phenomenon, in which the circulation of some motifs can be attributed to patterns of interconnection related to other types of materials.

This line of reasoning brings us back to the differences between the role played in Apulian societies by SIP and *Impasto*. It is possible to observe the existence of this difference by looking at the network (Fig. 5.9; measures in Table 5.2) and noting the small number of nodes. This includes only seventeen sites, while the value of the previous period was twenty-eight. It is therefore necessary to bear in mind that the interpretation of the network will reveal patterns which are, at least at an inter-site level, quite 'selective' as far as the 'actors' involved are concerned (i.e. only few communities produced/had access to these materials). Whether this is also valid at an intra-site level (i.e. for households), the contextual evidence is too slight to tell, even if the argument in

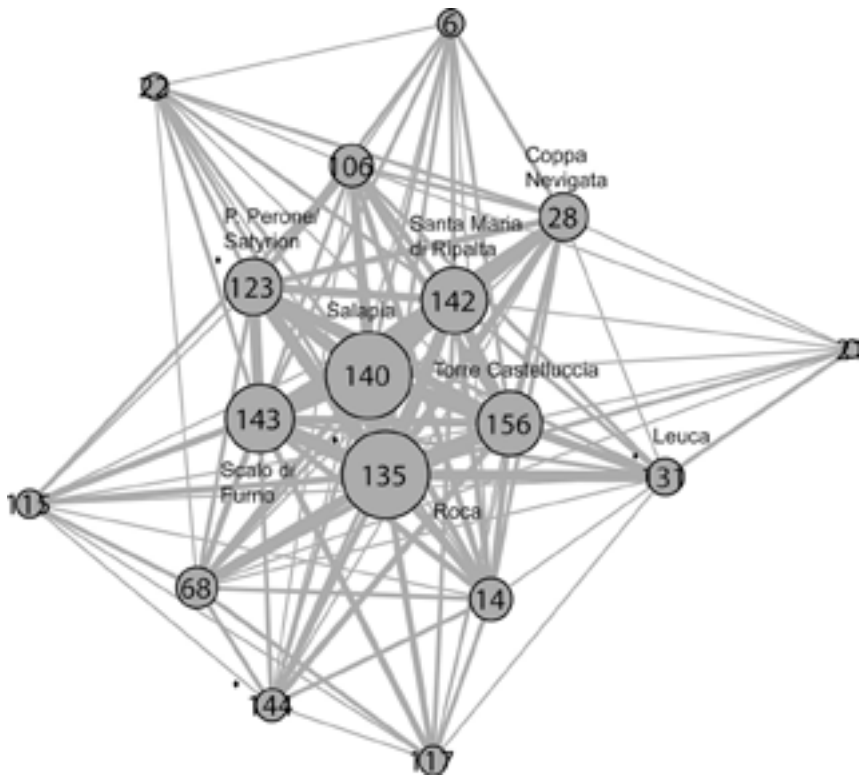


Fig. 5.9 Network representing the distribution of SIP pottery painted motifs. The size of the node indicates its Weighted Degree (see text), while the thickness of the edges is proportional to the number of motifs shared. Diamond symbols indicate sites where Aegean-type pottery has been recovered.

the previous section relating to the perceived social value of SIP provides a tentative support for this view. Another observation apropos the general layout of the network is its extremely high average level of connectedness. This is indicated by the Average Clustering Coefficient (ACC; the number of groups of nodes that connects one another; see Section ‘The small-scale network during the Recent Bronze Age’ and Table 5.3b) and Average Weighted Degree (AWD; the average number of motifs/stylistic features shared between sites; see Section ‘The Protoapennine and Apennine network’ and Table 5.3a), which provides a clearer picture of the trend. At a value of 36.1 (Table 5.3), this marks a further increase from the already high values recorded during Subapennine. In plain words, this means that, as an average, each SIP motif was attested more than thirty-six times.

Table 5.2 Measures of the graph related to the circulation of the SIP-painted motifs

Site	Degree	Weighted Degree	Modularity Class	ATP	TNOM
28	15	37	0	No	6
140	16	70	0	No	13
142	15	49	0	No	8
68	15	31	1	Yes	6
106	15	31	0	No	6
14	15	32	1	No	6
22	11	17	0	No	2
117	11	20	1	No	5
21	8	10	0	No	3
143	15	55	1	No	5
6	11	18	0	No	2
156	16	52	0	No	10
115	11	18	1	No	3
135	16	71	0	Yes	20
131	13	27	1	Yes	7
123	14	45	0	Yes	6
144	13	23	1	Yes	3

ATP: Aegean-type pottery (attested or not, ? if the find is uncertainly attributable to this phase); TNOM: total number of motifs.

In this general framework, the most central site of the network is Roca (no. 135, with a score of 72), closely followed by another main node in the north, namely Salapia (no. 140). This latter is not far from Coppa Nevigata and has probably taken up Coppa's role as the main node at the interface between the Gargano and the Tavoliere. Unfortunately, not much is known about the early phases of Salapia: it will continue to be also occupied into the Iron Age and go on to flourish in Roman times (Lippolis 2008). One must remember, though, that at Coppa Nevigata the FBA deposits have been severely damaged and that, probably, its diminished role in the network is partially due to these circumstances (Recchia 2009: 224).

Last but not least, unlike what has been observed in the previous Subapennine phase, there seems to be no substantial overlap between sites with Aegean-type material and high centrality (i.e. high Weighted Degree in Table 5.3) in the small-scale network. Indeed, they seem to possess a similar AWD (see

Table 5.3 Overall measures of networks from MBA to FBA

(a)

	Total WD	No. of sites	ADPS	AWD
Protoapennine				9.12
With ATP	61	5	12.2	
Without ATP	218	24	9.08	
Apennine				6.13
With ATP	30	6	11.1	
Without ATP	145	22	4.9	
Subapennine				29.6
With ATP	532	12	44.3	
Without ATP	268	16	16.7	
Protovillanovan				36.1
	197	5	39.4	
	409	12	34	

(b)

	ACC	NoN
Protoapennine	0.64	32
Apennine	0.63	29
Subapennine	0.82	28
Protovillanovan	0.9	17

WD: Weighted Degree; ATP: Aegean-type pottery; ADPS: average degree per site; AWD: Average Weighted Degree; ACC: Average Clustering Coefficient; NoN: Number of Nodes.

Table 5.3). This situation was to some extent to be expected considering the general trend of decrease in the intensity of interaction between the Aegean world and the communities of the southern Adriatic described.

The wider Mediterranean context during the Final Bronze Age

Northern and Balkan connections

Many of the northern connections presented in the previous chapter continue during the FBA (see Section ‘The wider Mediterranean context during the

Recent Bronze Age'). The pattern of recovery of Aegean-type material in the Grandi Valli Veronesi, attested during the RBA, is now epitomized by the important evidence from Frattesina.

This large site, located close to the outfall of the Po river (its current position is more inland than during the Bronze Age), emerged as a full-fledged centre at the end of a long process, starting during the RBA (Balista and De Guio 1997; De Guio et al. 2009; Leonardi 2009). The settlement, which during its maximum covered 20 ha, was inhabited until the EIA. The occupation was organized in relatively small structures, although they become larger in the EIA (Bietti Sestieri 2008; Bietti Sestieri 2010b: 188–189). At Frattesina, the recovery of a limited assemblage of Aegean-type material, generically datable to LH IIIC, was accompanied by the identification of unambiguous evidence related to the working of exotica such as amber (Negroni-Catacchio 1984; also attested at the nearby site of Grignano Polesine; Bellintani et al. 2015; De Guio et al. 2009), glass (Bellintani and Stefan 2009; Towle et al. 2001) and ivory (Bietti Sestieri and De Grossi-Mazzorin 2005). As proposed by Peroni (1996: 385–386), the spatial distribution of these traces, rather than suggesting the segregation of different crafts, seems to indicate that different activities were carried out in the same small buildings (arguably representing also dwellings).

Metallurgy is one of the main spheres of production at Frattesina, being attested by a hoard, as well as by other finds (Bellintani and Peretto 1972). As observed by Pearce (2000, 2007: 107), it is possible that the metal supply for the site came both from Etruria and from the Alpine area to the north-east, even if this latter direction is perhaps more consistently corroborated by the recovery of finds such as socketed shovels (Bellintani and Stefan 2009). The area around Frattesina also has connections with the culture of Luco/Lughen (Leonardi 2009), related in turn to some of the most important productive centres of Trentino (e.g. Acqua Fredda, where over 800 kilograms of copper slags have been recovered; see Čierny et al. 2004). The southern 'terminal' of north-south linkages concerning metals and metallurgy was probably represented by Roca, as indeed the analogies between Roca's hoards and those of Trentino are very marked (Borgna 2009; Maggiulli 2009).

Apart from these connections, the north-easternmost and the south-easternmost zones of peninsular Italy also shared, during the FBA, a general escalation of Balkan influences, which in Friuli (north-east Italy) again involved primarily metal production (Borgna 2009: 292).

In Apulia, the restart of the connection with the Balkans is one of the main aspects of the FBA. The term 'restart' is a little inappropriate as, at least as far as

the southern Adriatic is concerned, the relations never entirely ceased. Through the whole LBA, ties between Apulia and the Balkans in various material products were never particularly consistent, but still existed. They increased gradually in the FBA, acquiring a considerable importance. For certain aspects, such as handmade pottery, they indicate not so much direct interaction as the existence of a common background: this might be connected with the modes of circulation of stylistic models in handmade products, as spelt out in the previous chapter, and perhaps, at least partially, might be associated with the possible existence of shared metal prototypes that functioned as vehicles for the transmission of stylistic information. For typical Subapennine handle shapes, a couple of parallels can be recognized in the repertoire published from the site of Beltojës in northern Albania (Lahi 1988). To the fan-shaped projection identified by Cazzella and Moscoloni (see Cazzella and Moscoloni 1995: 136; that is, Cassano et al. 1987, fig. 78 no. 19), it is possible to add a handle fragment – again from Beltojës, dating to the later phase of the Albanian LBA. This piece is indeed reminiscent of the mallet-shaped example recovered at Porto Perone (admittedly rather rare in Apulia; feature nos. 9–10 and Lahi 1988: 86–88 pl. 1 no. 28, pl. 3 no. 30; Lo Porto 1963, fig. 20 no. 8).

However, these trans-Adriatic relations are not represented only by narrow typological details. To better understand the background mentioned, it serves to broaden the discussion to take in general trends within the diachronic evolution of handmade pottery productions. Through the LBA, it is possible to recognize the parallel development of a few features that occurred at about the same time both in Southern Italy and on the eastern side of the Adriatic. For instance, the grooved decoration placed at the maximum diameter of the vessel, which is typical in both geographical areas in the twelfth century BC roughly (Andrea 2006: 19; Damiani 2010: 441; see Fig. 5.10, nos. 1–2). In Albania, such elements will eventually become more pronounced later in the Iron Age, resulting in a ribbed decoration (or *kannelyr* in Albanian; see Pevnick and Agolli 2010, fig. 12). This is attested in a couple of examples, again at Porto Perone (Lo Porto 1963: 288–289 fig. 17), as well as at Termitito in Basilicata (Bianco and De Siena 1982: 92–93 pl. 28 nos. 6–7; Cazzella and Moscoloni 1995: 136 notes 41–42).

Other feature(s) held eventually in common between the pottery traditions may be attested earlier in one of the two areas (east or west), which shows the possible origin of said stylistic element. An Italian derivation, thus, is probable for divided handles, which are already attested in Apulia (i.e. at Coppa Nevigata; Cazzella and Moscoloni 1995: 136; Cassano et al. 1987: 161, fig. 80 no. 2) in a horizon corresponding to the mature RBA, and in Albania occur in a slightly

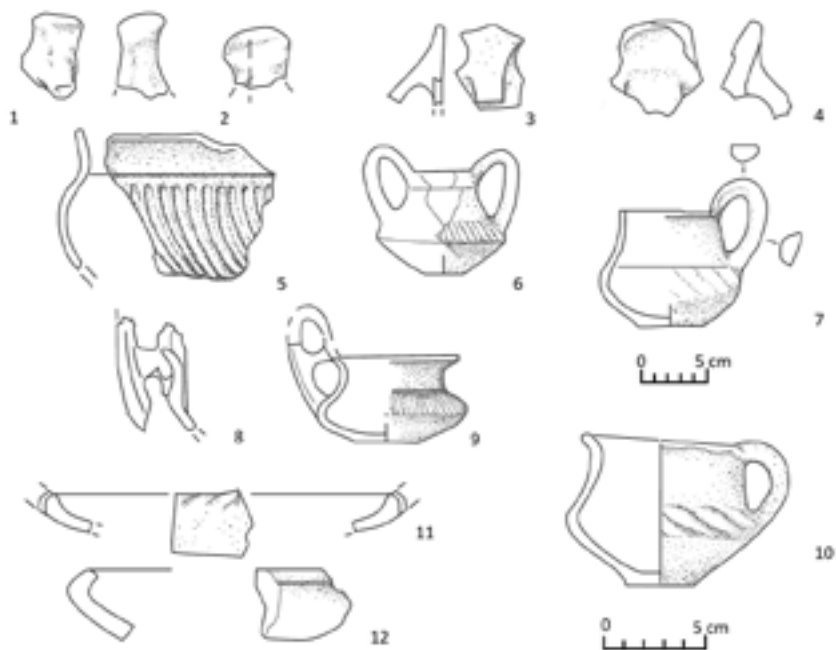


Fig. 5.10 Common pottery features between the two shores of the southern Adriatic during the FBA (1–5, 8, 11, 12 not to scale). From: 1, 3 Beltojës 2, 5 Porto Perone; 6, 7, 9 Loeffkënd; 4, 8 Coppa Nevigata; 10 Roca; 11 Maliq; 12 Otranto.

later horizon (transition between Bronze Age and EIA; i.e. Aliu 2004: 81, 93 fig. 49; Pevnick and Agolli 2010, fig. 12).

On the other hand, the development of a separated neck in Italian carinated bowls during the FBA (i.e. Malorgio and Magiulli 2011, fig. 7 V; Orlando 1997, no. 28; see Fig. 5.10, nos. 3–4) might have been influenced in general terms by Balkan tankards (Gori 2015: 88–98 from the Early Bronze Age (EBA); Aliu 2004: 93 fig. 49 top left, from LBA to EIA). Similar (although not truly parallel) developments involve ceramics other than the unpainted sort: the eastern side of the Adriatic, from Albania to Macedonia and possibly also Bulgaria, is the locus for a series of matt-painted styles, some of which can also be directly linked to Middle Helladic matt-painted ware in Greece. Discussing the origin and the development of such products is a task that goes beyond the scope of this overview: much ink has been spent on the topic, with arguments often coloured in more or less overtly nationalistic tones (for a useful overview of the problem, see Horejes 2007 with bibliography). It is sufficient here to

highlight the existence of this further similarity between the two shores of the Adriatic Sea: for the Albanian matt-painted pottery, direct contact is shown in a few probable imports, at Otranto (Orlando 2002: 219), and also Roca (Orlando 1992: 38–39).

At both Roca and Otranto is recorded another material whose presence can unquestionably be connected with interaction with the Balkans, and most notably with Albania. Bitumen, also known to the ancient authors as *Ilyrica Pix*, a substance whose sources (generally corresponding to oil fields) were located in the south-west of the country, in the area around the small town of Pica, on a tributary of the Vjosa river (Fig. 5.11), as confirmed in medieval maps like the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Morris 2006). Small quantities of bitumen have been recorded as encrusted on vessels: an unusual *dolium* at Otranto (Orlando 2002: 213, 220 fig. 10), a repaired SIP vessel and most of the wheel-made pithoi at Roca (Guglielmino 1999: 483; Ronca 2005: 40), a Subapennine carinated bowl at Torre Santa Sabina (Cinquelpalmi 2010: 226) and different *Impasto* vessels at Coppa Nevigata (Cassano et al. 1987: 162–163, E45, A6), as well as loose in small lumps (in RBA Area IX, Guglielmino pers. comm.). This material was used to make the interior of (mostly storage) vessels destined to hold liquids impermeable.



Fig. 5.11 Distribution of bitumen finds in Bronze Age sites in the southern Adriatic. The diamond represents a possible ancient source (see text). (1) Roca; (2) Otranto; (3) Torre Santa Sabina; (4) Coppa Nevigata; (5) Pica; (6) Lofekënd.

Bitumen was extremely valuable in ancient times and perhaps even more so during proto-history, with its value being inversely proportional to the level of permeability of the ceramics used. To this extent, an interesting confirmation of the 'awareness' of the importance of this material among populations on the eastern side of the Adriatic is offered by the recovery in the Lofkënd tumulus (Papadopoulos et al. 2014), in north-central Albania, of an extremely anomalous grave good, an amphoroid vessel completely filled with bitumen, which accompanied an EIA burial (Morris 2006: 100).

The principal aspect of trans-Adriatic connections towards the end of the LBA was, without doubt, metals. Dating to this period are a series of isolated finds which offer a glimpse into the importance of this element in the relations between the two shores of the Adriatic. A trans-Adriatic identity was postulated long ago for the shaft-hole axes of non-Italic type recovered at Reinzano near Taranto (Bietti Sestieri 1969; König 2004: 98–99), in a hoard possibly dated to a mature FBA horizon. Since that discovery, the circulation of metal types between the two shores of the Adriatic has proved to be a consistent phenomenon. Parallels have been identified between types attested in hoards recovered in Southern Italy, Croatia, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as Montenegro, with a specific focus around the region of Shkodër in northern Albania (see Bietti Sestieri 1969; Bietti Sestieri and Lo Schiavo 1976; Gori 2006 with bibliography; Iacono 2016; Korkuti 1985). One of the main forms widely exchanged was the shaft-hole and socketed axe, which according to Carancini's (2004) proposal were non-functional and used primarily as a premonetary exchange medium.³ These objects made for exchange also featured in Balkan hoards and, on this basis, Gori (2006: 211) has suggested the existence of similar dynamics at work.

Balkan influences have been also identified in the analysis of Roca's hoards: recognized principally in fibulae (Maggiulli 2009: 315) and, again, in axes (Maggiulli 2009: 318, 327). Finally, again at Roca, a possible Balkan origin has also been recently suggested for the functional double axe recovered close to the pig remains and the *hoard of gold* (Guglielmino and Pagliara 2004: 315, no. II. 217) by Onnis (2008: 265), on the basis of the type's abundance (Buchholz III) in Albanian contexts. However, production of double axes was probably relatively widespread in the southern Adriatic (on both sides). Consequently, it is difficult to assign to this item too much cultural significance, be it with either the Aegean or the Balkan worlds (*contra* Guglielmino 2006a; 2008).

Cyprus, the western Mediterranean and metallurgy

A main influence in metallurgy for the central and western Mediterranean was undoubtedly Cyprus: since the end of the MBA, the island had demonstrated linkages with both Sicily and Sardinia. The two main islands lay largely outside of the Adriatic-Urnfield networks that we have seen at work in Apulia, but are crucial for their relations with Tyrrhenian Italy (see Vagnetti 1974). Comprehending the role of Cyprus therefore is essential to understanding the mobility and interaction operating at the Mediterranean-wide scale. The topic is so vast that it will only be possible to outline here its most general developments (Lo Schiavo 2003, 2013; Lo Schiavo et al. 1985; Usai and Lo Schiavo 2009; Vagnetti 1968, 1999b).

An early stage in the relations between Cyprus (and the eastern Mediterranean) and the Central Mediterranean in the sphere of metals and metallurgy corresponds to the early period of interaction with the Aegean world, starting around LH IIIA (Lo Schiavo 2008: 418–420). It was suggested earlier that even already in such early contacts, a Cypriot presence played some role in both Sardinia and Sicily, particularly in the light of the evidence from Thapsos (see Section ‘The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age’ and Alberti 2008), as well as at Cannatello, a site that has finds of Sardinian-Nuragic pottery (Russell and Knapp 2017). Pottery imports from Cyprus are seen to be attested well enough in Sicily, but rare in Sardinia (see Albanese Procelli 2008: 412; Russell and Knapp 2017: 16; Usai and Lo Schiavo 2009). The opposite, however, is true as far as metal is concerned: traces are concentrated on Sardinia rather than on Sicily, although this pattern is at least in part influenced by a bias in modern exploration (settlements are better represented in Sardinia, while cemeteries are in Sicily; see Russell and Knapp 2017: 14–15).

In the MBA and the RBA, Sardinia however certainly had linkages – at least with some areas of the Aegean that were involved with Cypriot contacts, as is attested by: imported Mycenaean material in Nuraghe Arrubiu (Jones and Levi 2014: 242), the Sardinian and Cypriot material at Kommos (Rutter 1999, 2006), nuragic pottery and objects in Sardinian copper found on Cyprus, and more (Stos-Gale and Gale 2010; Karagheorghis 2011: 89; for a full list of evidence, see Russell and Knapp 2017).

Cypriot influences can be also identified in a number of tools connected with metal working, among which are a large number of hammers, similar to those attested also in Apulia (see Section ‘The individual community during the Final Bronze Age’ and Lo Schiavo et al. 1985: 22–27). The most conspicuous evidence



Fig. 5.12 Distribution of oxhide ingots find-spots in the Mediterranean.

of the relationship with Cyprus, however, is provided by the oxhide ingots (Lo Schiavo et al. 2009; Jones 2007) found in significant numbers in Sardinia and (to a minor extent) in Sicily (see Fig. 5.12 and Albanese Procelli 2008; Lo Schiavo 2013; Lo Schiavo et al. 2009), which during the LBA III were almost always made of copper from Cypriot ores (Begemann et al. 2001; Knapp 2000). These ingots with their peculiar quadrangular shape and elongated corners (facilitating their handling) occasionally bore on one face marks in a script related to the Cypro-Minoan (see Ferrara and Bell 2016). They thus represent one of the chief classes of evidence for the LBA metals trade in the eastern Mediterranean. West of Greece, in Italy, only Sardinia and Sicily (including Lipari) have produced this kind of evidence. While the sporadic finds from southern France and Corsica (e.g. Domergue and Rico 2002) can be perhaps considered as a by-product of the same maritime routes that reached Sardinia, more remote finds are more enigmatic and less easy to explain in the light of our current knowledge of LBA metals trade (see Sabatini 2016 for an overview).

It has been suggested on essentially iconographic grounds, that is, the lack of representations from Egyptian tombs dating after this period (see Bass 1967: 62–67, 164), that the production of these ingots ceased by the end of the twelfth century BC, and therefore all the items recovered in the western Mediterranean should date before the end of this century. However, as noted by Jones (2007: 35 note 142), it is perfectly possible that the circulation of these goods at a later time did not interest Egypt, which would explain the lack of later representations.

Drawing on the evidence of oxhide ingots and *bronzetti* (small bronze statues representing variously equipped individuals and seagoing vessels; Lilliu 1956; Depalmas 2006), Lo Schiavo and Campus (2013) have recently emphasized the role of Sardinian merchants, suggesting their active role along routes connecting the island with the Aegean and Cyprus, and, later on in the EIA, after the conclusion of connections with the eastern Mediterranean, with Iberia and the western Mediterranean (Lo Schiavo 2008).

In their recent re-examination of the Cypriot material in Italy, Russell and Knapp (2017) have tried to propose an alternative 'minimalist' connection with Cyprus. They argue that, from a quantitative point of view, the evidence of such is all but overwhelming. While there is certainly some truth to this, the material is still vastly more than what is available in other areas of the central Mediterranean. On the Italian mainland, for example, Cypriot traces are ephemeral, at best. Two vases from Scoglio del Tonno have been interpreted as recalling Cypriot parallels (Lo Schiavo et al. 1985: 7 nos. 1–2), but at least one is actually Mycenaean (Jones and Levi 2014: 257). The list compiled by Russell and Knapp (2017: 17 tab.4) shows for the Italian mainland a total of just ten artefacts, over a period of almost four centuries.⁴

Possible Cypriot 'involvement' has been postulated by Bietti Sestieri (2008) and others (Pearce 2000) in relation to the finds from Frattesina (see previous section), on the basis of the considerable evidence for the local manufacture of goods like glass and ivory. Such a suggestion, however, rests on extremely thin ice. Concerning the glass, Frattesina and a handful of other locales are indeed the earliest sites in Italy presenting clear evidence of production of objects in this material (Towle et al. 2001). However, as noted by Bellintani (2010b: 147), as far as pyrotechnology is concerned, the requirements for glass working are essentially the same as those for copper production, a craft extremely well attested in the area. Also, the compositional analyses of glass beads from the area have shown that, despite a degree of variability (perhaps due to a multiplicity of production centres), they consistently follow a recipe (low-magnesium/high-potassium alkali glass, or LMHK) typical of European glasses. Given all this, the acquisition of the technical know-how does not point to contact with the eastern Mediterranean or Cyprus (Angelini et al. 2009). Regarding ivory too, even taking into account the existence of rare imports from Frattesina to the Enkomi (such as the Frattesina type comb from Tomb 6; see Vagnetti 1986), the presence of such material does not necessarily betoken direct contact with Cyprus, as this circulated widely in the Mycenaean Aegean (Krzyszowska 1990) and beyond (at Roca local manufacture commenced earlier than at Frattesina: end of RBA, opposed to the Phase 2/mature FBA at Frattesina; see De Guio et al. 2009: 137).

Late Aegean connections (LH IIIC middle-late)

In the wider central Mediterranean, after the end of the RBA, interaction with the Aegean world was on the wane. Of the many sites with finds of generic LH IIIC pottery in peninsular Italy, only a handful of them possessed material datable to the later phases of the period. Of course, it is, again, necessary to bear in mind too that the vast majority of these finds are actually locally made and not imported (Jones and Levi 2014).

Since most of the sherds/vessels recovered in Italy cannot be dated to a precise sub-phase within LH IIIC, it is theoretically possible that this period is under/misrepresented. It is nevertheless striking that even in sites with large quantities of Aegean-type material, LH IIIC Late pottery is extremely rare (Fig. 5.13; see Benzi and Graziadio 1996). A few sherds have been recovered in association with Ausonian II levels at Lipari (Taylour 1980: 813 nos. 287–88, 228 pl. 245 nos. 6, 7, 11; 246 no. 2) and some at Termitito (Bianco and De Siena 1982: 78 no. 5). These apart, no other LH IIIC Late material has been found west of Apulia, suggesting



Fig. 5.13 Distribution of LH IIIC Late material in the central Mediterranean.

a gradual detachment of local southern Italian centres from the influence of the Aegean. To understand likely reasons for this realignment, however, it is sensible to briefly sketch out what the Aegean world was like at this point in time and in what ways it resembled (or not) the image of the earlier 'Mycenaean World'. The shadow of this often falls onto discussion of Aegean-type finds in the central Mediterranean, even at this late date (i.e. Benzi and Graziadio 1996).

In the previous chapter, we mentioned the relative depopulation which characterized parts of the Aegean after the fall of the palaces (see Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age'). This, however, was neither an abrupt process nor a universal one: some areas experienced much less distress than others (Middleton 2010). As has been briefly suggested, some zones even increased their population in comparison to palatial times (i.e. Achaea; see Moschos 2009a).

This too is surely what happened at Tiryns, where a population concentrated in the lower town experienced in LH IIIC a final 'revival' (Thomatos 2006: 189–196). A large rectangular stone building (Building T) was erected, the closest structure to a palatial megaron existing in the twelfth century BC. Signs of continuity, at least in some spheres (i.e. cult practices), are attested also at Mycenae (Maran 2001; 2006). Other important sites are also identified by a limited number of cemeteries such as Epidauros Limera, Medeon and Elateia, whose grave goods suggest the existence of some form of specialized craftsmen, as well as long-range contacts, most notably with the central Mediterranean (see the metal assemblages of the last, where many 'westernizing' object have been found; Chapter 4, and Deger-Jalkotzy 2006; Dickinson 2006: 68–69).

Dickinson theorizes that, despite some hints to the contrary, on a global Aegean scale, a process of depopulation was likely in place (Dickinson 2006: 88). By the end of LH IIIC, even Tiryns was probably reduced to only a collection of hamlets, and the same fragmentation can be suggested for Athens on the basis of the segregation of various EIA cemetery nuclei around the Acropolis (Mühlenbruch 2009; Privitera 2013: 55). It has been hypothesized that such a process was accompanied by relatively large population movements on a wider scale which benefited Achaea (Dickinson 2006: 93–98; Middleton 2010: 71–73; Moschos 2009a: 348; Osborne 2009: 49–51). It is as likely, though, that any movement might have involved only particular sectors of the population, that is, those more connected to the palaces such as specialized craftsmen. The existence of a possible Minoanizing ceramic workshop whose products reached at Klauss in Achaea can be read in this light (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009: 87–88; see also Borgna 2013). What seems to have been expunged is the clear

evidence of site hierarchy, a feature that characterized the previous palatial period (Dickinson 2006: 84). The first signs of differentiation appear in the funerary sphere, while substantial buildings are lacking until the EIA (Dickinson 2006: 104–110).

The situation on the Mainland diverges substantially from that on Crete. Here it is possible to detect more continuity in architecture, with instances of the reuse of old structures. Nonetheless, a distinctive trend of abandonment of lowland sites in favour of the occupation of more remote areas, particularly in the eastern part of the island, can be recognized (McEnroe 2010: 148–159; Nowicki 2000; Wallace 2003: 256–258). Everywhere else, however, the preference for important late post-palatial sites to occupy coastal locations has been noted (Dickinson 2006: 69), and interpreted as an indication of the importance of interconnections. Although this is possible, the range of these interconnections is likely to have been generally relatively modest in extent, and surely less extensive than in palatial times.

In the whole Aegean, linkages within pottery production are well attested, but now they unite areas of relatively limited geographical extent in comparison with previous times (Mountjoy 1999: 53–55). For instance, these can be recognized in the Dodecanese, Crete and Cyprus (Dickinson 2006: 67–68; Sherratt 1982); Chios and the eastern Aegean (Mountjoy 1998, 2015); Lefkandi, Mitrou and other little explored sites either side of the Euboean Gulf (Mountjoy 2009; Sherratt 2006: 218–220). One of the most distinguishable of these regional styles is probably the so-called Western Mainland Koine identified by Mountjoy (1999: 54–55), which was in place during the later phases of LH IIIC and might have included a large area running from central-western Greece (Arcadia and Aitolia-Akarnania) to Achaea and the Ionian islands (although Mountjoy sees it as more limited), up to Albania and perhaps also Southern Italy (Eder 2009; Moschos 2009b).

For Apulia, it has been suggested in the past (Fisher 1988) that the main links of Apulian Aegean-type pottery are again specifically with the western part of mainland Greece. It is worthwhile to investigate this further. It is important to remember too that at Roca during the RBA connections identified Western Crete and the Peloponnese were also included. The material from the FBA phases at Roca included stirrup jars (Guglielmino et al. 2010: 273 no. 42) showing distinctive Achaean influences (fringed semicircles and cross-hatched triangles, but also the so-called Achaean banding pattern, characterized by regularly spaced narrow bands covering the lower part of the body of the vessel; see Fig. 5.14).

One of these vessels has proved to be a direct import: a large example which stylistically can be taken as the quintessential vessel of the West Mainland Koine (Mountjoy 1999: 54). Apart from stirrup jars, other detailed parallels have been



Fig. 5.14 Western Mainland Koiné stirrup jars from Roca.

identified between a large closed vessel from Roca with material from Lasteika (in Elis; Eder 2009: 145, fig. 2 nos. 2–3), while there are consistent similarities with vessels from Elis and Punta Meliso (Eder 2009: 144–145, figs. 1–2).

The Final Bronze Age in the southern Adriatic: Modes of Production and Interaction

Unprecedented accumulation

As noted for some time by various scholars (i.e. Saltini Semerari 2016; Benzi and Graziadio 1996; Bietti Sestieri 2010b; Vagnetti 1979), traces of interaction with the Aegean world start to become thinner in the LH IIIC Middle-Late time frame, although they do not disappear altogether.

As a degree of correlation was noted in a previous phase between increased Aegean-type material and capital accumulation, this decrease should be accompanied by a gradual diminishing of the resources available to the community as a whole. Yet, in its general development, the record of the southern

Adriatic seems to hint at the exact opposite. In other words, there occurs a decoupling between signs of capital accumulation and traces of interaction with the Minoan/Mycenaean world. Perhaps this parting is offset by connections with other areas, both in the region and in the wider Mediterranean, which do not seem to be in any way negatively influenced by the notorious LBA “catastrophe” and even flourished.

The foremost sphere in which it is possible to note a correlation between production, capital accumulation and interaction with areas other than the strict Aegean is undoubtedly metallurgy. The abundance of hoards and the endless number of connections ranging from northern Italy to the Balkans unmistakably testify to this (Section “The individual community during the Final Bronze Age”).

Capital accumulation is also indicated by specialized pottery production such as wheel-made pithoi and SIP pottery (Sections ‘The southern Adriatic societies and the Mediterranean in the *longue durée*’ and ‘*E pluribus unum, ex uno plures?*’). The existence of these two specific classes of vessels argues for the continued existence of a sector of specialized manufacture which had access to the know-how (potter’s wheel for the pithoi, clay selection and high temperature firing for both storage containers and SIP), as well as to the resources (high fuel requirements for firing and, more broadly speaking, a labour-intense production) necessary to continue in operation (Borgna and Levi 2015).

Pithoi also attest to the ability of local communities in Apulia and broader Southern Italy to accumulate on a scale previously unprecedented. No *Impasto* vessel has the same capacity (ca. 600 litres as opposed to a capacity between 24 and 60 litres recorded for instance in *Impasto dolia* at MBA Roca; see Scarano 2012: 262–264), and this inferiority is also true for even the large closed shapes in Aegean-type pottery. However, while the increased popularity of pithoi can apparently be connected to dynamics internal to the settlement’s production, the situation is different for SIP.

Pottery networks

The regional network based on the sharing of motifs on SIP pottery indicates an intense communication, similar (if not stronger) to that seen in Subapennine times. This communication probably underlays a diffused exchange of surpluses between different groups within the population of various Adriatic communities. The modes through which these surpluses were exchanged, however, are less easy to glimpse. As suggested by Levi (1999: 259), there is no real technical regression in any field of pottery production – *Impasto* included – from the incipient stages of specialization noted in the RBA (Levi 1999: 258–259; 2004: 239). It is unlikely

that the sole abandonment of the wheel for fine painted ceramics represented a return to the social structure of production typical of the MBA. Rather, artisans and consumers of FBA pottery considered the use of the wheel for smaller vessels not worthwhile. A modification to Levi's proposals has been put forward in relation to wheel-made pithoi by Guglielmino (1999), based on ethnographic comparison. This entailed the existence of travelling potters (whatever their 'ethnic' origin) offering their service to various communities over a wide area. Also, given the strong links between these pithoi and SIP (Section 'The individual community during the Final Bronze Age'; Bettelli and Levi 2003), the model can be tentatively also extended to embrace the production of the latter class of pottery. It is necessary, of course, to envisage the activity of these potters as deeply embedded within the social practices of local communities. On the basis of the rarity of SIP, as well as its suggested prestige value (Section 'The small-scale network during the Final Bronze Age'), their work may have been required only at certain special occasions. The donation of precious fine painted vessels (occasionally of very large size, as in the case of basins as well as of some urns) may have functioned as a means to solidify allegiances between specific sectors of the population of different communities. Such a custom could have encompassed the movement of other goods, less easily recognizable in the archaeological record. Intercommunity marriages and other similar mundane, or religious, events might have provided the occasion for such practices.

Supersizing the social group

In order to explore such a proposal, however, it is necessary to have a rough idea of the size of the community, as well as of the various co-residential units within the communities. The resources to access and support the work of specialized craftsmen probably exceeded the amount of surplus available to a typical nuclear family.

The majestic proportions of the structure in Area IX at Roca, along with other contextual clues (see the following text), have suggested to the excavators that it performed a cultic function. However, this building is not the only large one at the site during this period: I have suggested that this structure was part of a wider pattern reflected over much of the settlement, entailing the key use of wood for the construction of large buildings, defined by a 'modular' use of space. We might perhaps go as far as to suggest that the geometric decoration of the urn from the Area VI, interrupted by a tree emerging from a cleft in the complex zigzag motif, could actually be a form stylized of representation of the front of such buildings (see Fig. 5.15; Pagliara and Guglielmino 2005: 308, no. II196).⁵



Fig. 5.15 Zigzag motif on SIP urn from Roca.

In the so-called temple-hut, the quantitative analysis of materials recovered in the sampled area highlighted the abundance of shapes related to cooking and may be interpreted against the hypothesis of a purely 'cultic' orientation for the building (Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011). Miniature pottery is to be found elsewhere deposited alongside normal kitchen appliances (Guglielmino and Pagliara 2004: 580; Maggiulli and Malorgio 2017; Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011). Even the recovery of three piglets (articulated) close by a knife and other metal implements (most notably a spearhead and a double axe: the latter an object, incidentally, that is never associated in the same scene/image with animal sacrifices in the Aegean iconography; see Younger 1995: 519–520) – quoted as evidence for animal sacrifices (Pagliara 2005: 633) – may instead just be the result of the sudden destruction suffered by the structure entrapping the animals.

Despite contrary opinions offered so far, traces of cult activity *are* undoubtedly present in the building: they can be recognized in the small anthropomorphic and animal figurines in *Impasto* pottery from the area (Fig. 5.16). Also, and more importantly, the golden disks recovered in one of the two hoards of the structure are, if not cult paraphernalia *tout court* as suggested (see Fig. 5.6b and Pagliara 2005), unequivocally at least highly symbolic artefacts, connected with ritual as much as with prestige.

In general terms, the main interpretive objection towards assigning an *exclusive* cultic function for the Area IX structure stems from the need to detach the sphere of ritual from the domestic one that this view entails. The archaeological record of Area IX may be seen as embracing both at the domestic *and* at the ritual spheres.⁶ A clear illustration of this is given by the offering tables recovered in various zones in the structure (see Fig. 5.17; Guglielmino 2005, 2006a; Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011: 145, fig. 7.I). Although similar as far as general morphology is concerned, the parallels proposed by Guglielmino (2008)

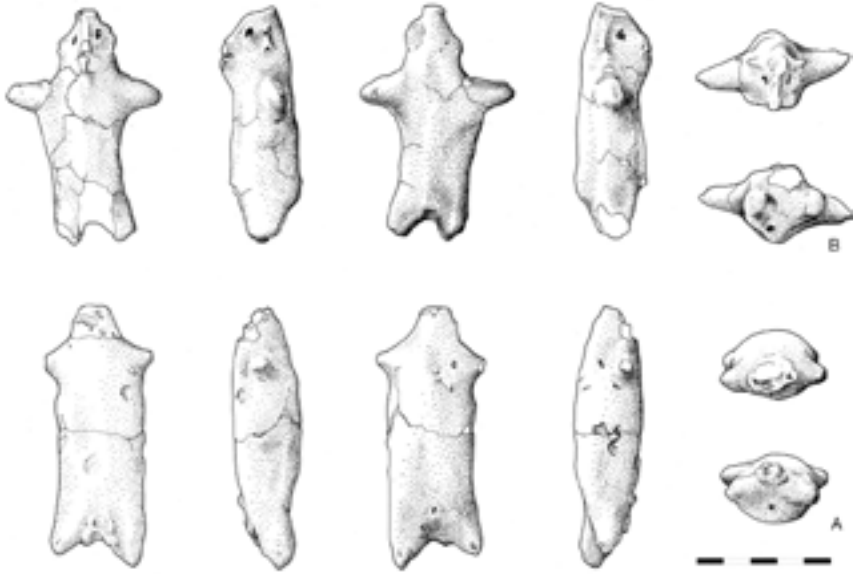


Fig. 5.16 FBA human and animal figurines from Area IX at Roca.



Fig. 5.17 FBA Tripod from Roca.

are very early (dating mostly to MM III–LM I Crete) and differ substantially from the examples from Roca, as many of these vessels are actually painted (see Puglisi 2010, with bibliography). Much more fitting appears instead in the comparison with another class of artefacts dating to mature palatial times and

recovered at various locales in Mycenaean Greece, namely *griddles* (Lis 2008: 147 note 37 with bibliography): simple circular tripod trays in a coarse fabric, used as kitchen cooking implements. A connection with cooking at Roca seems to be also confirmed by the *Impasto* ceramic repertoire associated with these items in the southeast area of the building, as well as by their association with other similar objects like portable ovens (*fornelli* in Italian; see Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011: 142, fig. 6). The only peculiarity of Roca's examples is in their lower surface, which is plain and not textured as it is in the standard Mycenaean shape. Among other possible uses, these vessels might have been used for cooking a flat bread not unlike a modern pita, a rather prosaic function. Yet, the fact that at Roca the upper face of these vessels, that is, where presumably the bread was placed to be cooked, carried grooved decorations like swastikas and other solar representations, similar also to those attested on the golden disks, confers on these apparently humble objects a symbolic dimension that cannot be dismissed. It can be even suggested that the function of such decoration was to produce bread with a positive image of those symbols.

Another example of how domestic and ritual aspects can blend together seamlessly is represented by the enchytrismos, that is, an infant burial in a pottery jar, recovered in the southeast sector too (Malorgio and Maggiulli 2011: 136). Burials *per se* are unquestionably part of a ritual, but in Apulia *enchytrismo*i have a long history, which starts around FBA and continues well into historical times (see Becker 1983), in which they are *always* associated with domestic areas.

All these elements suggest that within Roca, Area IX was not some isolated exception, but rather the rule. It then follows that the functional differences between different areas explored in the FBA settlement may be much less marked than has been argued in preliminary interpretations. Taking storage, for example, of the capacity of each zone, as attested by the different number of pithoi in Areas VI, IX and X (4, 5 and 2 pithoi, respectively), suggests comparable levels of activities. Differences, then, are more likely to represent unequal levels of surplus accumulation exhibited by distinct residence groups within the community. As a consequence, Area VI (which yielded also prestige material such as a large SIP urn; Pagliara and Guglielmino 2005: 304, no. II 196) was not a 'palatial' storeroom, but rather represented a storage area belonging to a large multifunctional structure, very much like that in Area IX.

Having ascertained that the function of the Area IX building was also to some extent domestic, it is now necessary to consider the full consequences of this. Indeed, a 40 × 15 metre structure which has, at least in part, a residential

function is something whose explanation must take in the social organization at the site.

Although arguably not all the people living in the area belonged to the same co-residential group, at least some of the dwellers of the area could have perhaps belonged to the same broad kin/affiliation group. Estimating the size of such a group using as a basis the size of the roofed area is not possible: any assessment of such an enlarged co-residential nucleus would mean using rules of thumb (i.e. Naroll 1962) that have been seriously discredited (Whitelaw 2001). Despite these limitations, the large buildings of FBA Roca speak clearly of a considerable increase of the minimum unit forming social groups within the community, especially if we compare FBA structures with those relatively unassuming dating to the earlier period (e.g. Pagliara et al. 2007: 321).

The hegemonic Adriatic and the Mediterranean

Bigger groups mean bigger consumption units and larger surpluses (Grier 2003) and, as has been seen, the record from Roca yields outstanding traces of this process. Looking for the possible whys and wherefores beyond this fundamental move, there are no evident reasons in what is normally referred to as the 'subsistence' economy, as there are no major observable shifts (as was the case, at the end of the RBA with olive oil; see Di Rita and Magri 2009; Primavera et al. 2017). However, if we put aside 'subsistence' production (a problematic term *per se*; see Sherratt 2004) and take into consideration interaction, things start to look differently.

The desire to participate in efforts-in-common aimed at the procurement of goods via trade activities might have provided a reasonable rationale for pooling resources and increasing the size of the social group. This is even more likely if, as was suggested in the previous chapter, sailing technology was starting to be adopted. The requirements and outlay of travelling and trading with a sailing ship, in terms of resources necessary to fill the hold with goods to be exchanged and to procure the manpower necessary to operate the vessel itself, were unlikely to be met by a small group of people, let alone by a nuclear family. Indirect traces of the existence in Roca's community of the ability necessary at least to build ships is offered by the peculiar material and technology adopted for the large wooden buildings of the FBA, as well as by the direct attestation of carpentry tools such as drills, saws and related (most notably in the hoards; see Maggiulli 2009) – all of which could have been involved in shipbuilding.

All this argues that the community inhabiting Roca during this period had increased its control of Means of Interaction, arguably considerably more so than

the descendants of their former Minoan/Mycenaean partners, who perhaps were now no longer hegemonic in their relationships with the central Mediterranean. This turn of the tables was not only because of the increased ability of Adriatic communities who enjoyed now the ability to accumulate capital destined for interaction and its means and to make use of the improved technical skills. One must also remember that the Aegean partners of this period were reduced in the main to the relatively small sites in western Greece and in the Ionian Islands (Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Final Bronze Age'), which certainly had considerably fewer resources than their palatial predecessors.

Overall, the fact that during the FBA, western bronze items (but perhaps also Handmade Burnished Ware [HBW]) were still attested, but in slighter quantities, in the Aegean (i.e. similar to the presence of Aegean-type pottery in the west; see Benzi and Graziadio 1996; Moschos 2009a: 374) speaks of a balancing out of the relationships between the two interacting partners. In this context, a centre like Roca was not a peripheral partner in a range of practices (easiest manifested to us in the spread of pottery of the so-called Western Mainland Koine), but, rather, acted as a 'full member' exercising a significant influence.

It is necessary here to bear in mind, however, that some of the trends encountered at Roca are not limited to the southern Adriatic alone, but are similar to the dynamics unfolding in other areas of Italy, signifying possibly analogous developments taking place over a large area. Broad southern Adriatic influences reverberated certainly to the north, up the Adriatic coast: thus, there exist sites in Abruzzo where SIP vessels, absolutely similar to the Apulian specimens, have been recovered, and again at Arci in association with pithoi (Di Fraia 1995). Metal hoards are ubiquitous during this period in the central Mediterranean FBA: occasionally such are associated with relatively larger buildings and SIP, such as in the case of the Lipari hoard (containing 75 kilograms of metal; see Giardino 2004) recovered in the Alpha II hut. Although not large in absolute terms, this is definitely larger than buildings of the pre-Ausonian phases (Bernabò Brea and Cavalier 1980). Likewise substantial wooden structures associated with local matt-painted pottery have been identified in Sicily at Metapiccola, close to Siracusa (Rizza 1962). Nearby, a similar context has emerged at Morgantina: the structures identified are described by the excavators as longhouses able to host enlarged kin groups (Leighton 2011, 2012).⁷ Like at Roca, these structures were endowed with extensive storage facilities able to preserve the large amount of surplus generated by the large social group which inhabited them. Similar facilities are recorded also at Broglio where, at this time, Aegean-type pottery has disappeared (Moffa 2002).

To the east, in the Aegean, the development of long apsidal buildings towards the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age is a well-known fact that has been analysed in depth (Mazarakis-Ainian 1989, 1997). The northern examples of these buildings were also accompanied by local matt-painted products (see Horejes 2007).

A new grammar of display, free of anything from the Bronze-Age Aegean tradition, was being developed in a multitude of different centres: not only in Southern Italy, but in the broader central and western Mediterranean and stretching north into the Balkans, an area broadly corresponding to what has been long, somewhat dismissively, defined as the ‘periphery’ of the Mycenaean world.

The Southern Adriatic and the Social Logic of Interaction

The southern Adriatic societies and the Mediterranean in the *longue durée*

The story reconstructed in the previous chapters on the underlying dynamics for Southern Italy and Apulia can be fully comprehended only by looking at each level of the analysis and their mutual influence on the *longue durée*. Taking the individual community, for a start the most basic (and yet the most complex) question to be posed is: What was the society like then?

Of one thing we can be certain, namely that at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA; around 1700 BC) the main social unit was relatively small. Settlement fragmentation indicates that groups of people may have been segregated in small hamlets scattered around the Apulian landscape (Section ‘The individual community during the Middle Bronze Age’). Within this general picture, short-range interaction constituted an unavoidable necessity for the survival and well-being of communities (Wobst 1974), a fact that is captured by the particularly intense contact between neighbouring settlements, as has been highlighted by the network analysis (Section ‘The Protoapennine and Apennine network’).

Incipient nucleation transformed into thriving centres both some of the most flourishing hinterland communities (commonly those with the best arable potential) and the coastal ones (profiting from a variety of resources plentiful in the marshy coastal environment). These agglomerations, which probably represented a somewhat later development from the original ‘hamlet’ structure of settlement, might have emerged as the outcome of the gradual growth of and around small family nuclei located in particularly favourable positions. In any case, on average, the population of these nucleated centres was arguably never particularly high.

Both hamlets and nucleated settlements of the kind typical of MBA Apulia were likely to represent societies not able and/or not particularly interested in reaching the maximum level of productivity possible for the given workforce (Sahlins 1972: 51, 124). The ubiquity and importance for local economies of wild resources, readily available in the surrounding environment, represents a further confirmation of this hypothesis. Arguably, little surplus, beyond annual buffering, was therefore being created in MBA settlements. Whatever available was immediately invested in monumental collective endeavours like fortifications walls, which probably had a symbolic meaning, facilitating internal cohesion in the community, as much as offering a practical function of defence. Not much was invested in interaction, that is, for improving what has been defined in Chapter 1 as the Means of Interaction and the community's position in Relations of Interaction.

Some sites and areas do, however, present diverging trajectories and traces of intensification. These, interestingly, correspond to some of the main nodes in local networks (see Section 'The Protoapennine and Apennine network'), as well as to some of the centres more involved in long-range interaction (above all with the Balkans, but not only there, as seen in Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Middle Bronze Age'). It is not unlikely that this situation triggered occasional competition and warfare between different communities, as attested perhaps by the destruction of Apennine Roca (but in this case the possibility of other more external enemies cannot be ruled out) and of Protoapennine Coppa Nevigata (Recchia 2010a).

This kind of 'domestic' society, small and at the same time profoundly immersed in a stream of personal and interfamilial relations, is also witnessed by the crafts developed during this period. Most notable here is that of pot-making, which represented an element inseparable from the workings of the *domus* and that was perhaps produced by women (Section 'The Protoapennine and Apennine network'). Pottery appears to present properties in line with the social setting just described. One is lack of standardization in shapes, suggesting a lack of interest in performative efficiency in creating the pots. A second is high variability of the (incised) decoration (particularly relevant in Apennine times), which may well reflect (intentionally or unintentionally) individual/familial (or other small group) identities. Given these features, as well as its overall rarity, it is perhaps possible to attribute decorated pottery (particularly in the Apennine) to the category of 'inalienable possessions' defined long ago by Weiner (1992): such are characterized by a restricted circulation, are highly gendered and of ritual significance (attested by its use at ritual/funerary sites, such as Trinitapoli,

that is, Tunzi Sisto 1999; see also Godelier 1999; Mills 2004). If this was the case, then the circulation of motifs in the regional pottery network might correspond more specifically to the movement of individuals.

The regional pottery network was already fairly developed during the Protoapennine period, even if it exhibited a degree of zonation (e.g. with respect to coastal sites; Section 'The Protoapennine and Apennine network'), indicating very active social exchanges at its base.

This southern Adriatic Kin-Ordered community was the society with which early Aegean seafarers made contact. At this time (Late Helladic [LH] I–II), mainland Greece itself was probably Kin-Ordered too, with the power balance oscillating between different chiefs. For much of this period, major palace complexes were just coming into being: the so-called Mycenaean world was still a heterogeneous collection of small chiefdoms guided by petty rulers for whom a high priority was dominating their competitors through conspicuous consumption of precious exotic goods.

The connection between Mainland Greece with the distant west was perhaps motivated by the procurement of material connected with textile production (alum in the Aeolian Islands and in the Tyrrhenian Sea area, and perhaps purple-dyed textiles in Apulia). Textiles undoubtedly represented an important element of fluidity in the gift exchange economies of late Middle Helladic and early Late Helladic mainland Greece. Interaction is mostly revealed by the recovery of a limited number of Aegean-type sherds/vessels in settlement deposits, while tomb material is rarer though not completely absent: this pattern suggests that these materials entered strategies of local display only to a limited extent. No overall imbalance in Relations of Interaction (Chapter 1) between southern Adriatic communities and Aegean partners can be readily detected, but this was probably so only because this area was not a main destination for early explorers and its 'economic' importance was not comparable to that of the Tyrrhenian or Sicily (Section 'The Middle Bronze Age Adriatic society and its connections: Modes of Production and Interaction').

The situation changed sharply with the mature stage of the MBA (LH IIIA in Aegean terms). At this time, when the transition towards a fully fledged tributary society had been accomplished in mainland Greece, the pattern of interaction with Apulia seems to change as well. Aegean-type material (at this time still mostly represented by imports, even if local production had already begun) starts to be recovered in relatively large (by central Mediterranean standards) quantities and at a limited number of locales, often corresponding to those already central in local networks of interaction. This situation was probably the result of the

activities of groups of Aegean seafarers more organized than those of earlier periods, though the role of local southern Adriatic communities in these encounters was likely to have been still relatively limited. Some sites such as Scoglio del Tonno seem to have represented already at this stage critical nodes for the distribution of products which travelled in Aegean-type vases (hence the predominance of closed shapes), albeit the lack of contextual details limits fundamentally the possibility of formulating any more specific interpretation. Although not uniformly present over the whole region, the Aegean presence is well felt in the central area (chiefly around Taranto) and to the south, where it represented one of the main components that shaped development of society there.

Support for this hypothesis is offered by further developments during the Recent Bronze Age (RBA). This period saw, it seems, the survival of only some of the sites – a process accompanied with the establishment in them of more complex buildings. These structures, though drawing upon previous models of habitation, were enlarged beyond the size typical for the MBA.

Pottery production as well experienced, overall, a sudden boost. Now wheel-made Aegean-type ceramics become one of the most diffused materials in the region, even if the find-spots where material is plentiful are limited in number. This shift is bound to the very modalities of interaction, as well as to the possible frequent (because of continuing stylistic connections with the Mycenaean world) presence of foreigners and/or locals with a substantial training abroad in some of the key settlements, such as Roca or Scoglio del Tonno. The chances are that in the long run (and a span of at least some three centuries can definitely be considered ‘the long run’), these ‘immigrants’ would have become entangled within the social life of local southern Adriatic communities, contracting marriages and setting up families and settling permanently there. Their trade and skill would have certainly entered the realm of the local proficiencies being transmitted to their offspring. In a relatively small number of generations, this trend would have produced a defined class of (possibly part-time) craft specialists, which would have at least partially relied on pottery production for their livelihood.

The effect of the activity of such people and their descendants (broadly defined as anyone to whom the know-how was transmitted) would have become more and more important, as is attested by the local hybrid productions (Section ‘The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age’), as well as by a general increase in the standardization of ‘normal’ handmade pottery (Levi 1999). The outcome of this process was the gradual dismantling of the, postulated, original

household-based way of producing pottery, depriving this activity of its original significance as a localized identity marker. Such a process is also reflected in the reorientation of the specific stylistic features of Subapennine pottery, which jettisoned the more variable incised motifs in favour of a limited repertoire of plastic features (Section ‘The small-scale network during the Recent Bronze Age’). Finally, the dynamics just described had noteworthy effects on circulation also within the small-scale pottery network (Section ‘The small-scale network during the Recent Bronze Age’): this shows a remarkable increase in the number of features held in common among various sites from Apennine to Subapennine times, suggesting a stylistic network that was much more tightly connected than before, partly because the actors directly involved in production were considerably less in number. This increased connectivity between Apulian communities is also evidenced by the distribution of Aegean-type material in the region, whose presence appears now to be consistently associated with sites central in local networks.

In the broader central Mediterranean, the new pattern recognized in the RBA comprises widespread Aegean-type find-spots, albeit often characterized only by minor quantities of material. Major assemblages are not absent, but are limited in number (particularly in relation to the high number of sites with but a few finds). Taking into consideration the fact that by this time Aegean-type material is constituted primarily of local imitations, it is possible to argue that, actually, most of the minor find-spots were the outcome of the internal regional interaction in which these goods were entangled, as a result of the process of integration of the foreign (or non-locally trained) potters within local societies. Whatever the precise function of its distribution, it is probable that, by the end of the RBA, Aegean-type material was no longer a precious exotic material, but was perceived as something as local as traditional *Impasto*. Pottery production and distribution, however, represent only individual aspects, possibly those archaeologically most visible, of a more profound social phenomenon.

In early RBA phases at Roca, the main context of recovery of Aegean-type material seems related to the remains of a series of large-scale feasting events, in which Aegean-type pottery was perhaps employed as a vehicle for highlighting strategic alliances between specific social groups within the community, and beyond with Aegean partners (either seafarers coming direct from Greece or local intermediaries). The religious component of this feasting may have been primary within the narrative of display enacted by local eminent groups: this aspect is unquestionably hinted at by the large animal sacrifices (Iacono 2015).

Ritual allies stimulating cosmological genealogies for the village (or specific lineages within it) are as important as real-world allies bringing with them gifts from distant lands. Only the first are able to create a link between those offering the feast and the broader community. The theme of ritual is directly connected with another subject, whose relevance has not been properly stressed so far. This is recursivity, that is, the fact that feasting events were probably repeated down the years (at least over the first two phases in Area IX at Roca; Pagliara et al. 2008). According to Sahlins (1972: 139), this characteristic captures a definite instance of the Domestic/Kin-Ordered Mode of Production, when the flow of goods between commoners and elites becomes continual. The elites are *expected* to keep organizing these kind of events: primarily for two reasons. The most basic is that feasting generosity represents a kind of self-imposed sumptuary measure (Mauss 1966: 16), which masks the imbalance of the relationship between different groups taking part (Hayden 1995). The second one entails the emergence of institutionalized roles within the political organization of the community. Repetition through time creates a sense of continuity which may lead to the consolidation of political roles, eventually facilitating their transition from a regime of temporary responsibility to one of inherited power.

This, then, is thought to have been the strategy of the heads of the kin groups buried at Trinitapoli and possibly of groups promoting feasting activities at Roca during the first two phases of the RBA occupation of Area IX – groups on the verge of acquiring institutionalized roles and becoming ‘tributary’. As mentioned, it is difficult to assess if and to what extent the specificities of the context of consumption of Aegean-type goods at Roca had parallels elsewhere in the region, let alone further afield in the central Mediterranean.

Moving from the Mode of Production to the Mode of Interaction, the specific kind of feasts performed in Roca Area IX Phases I–II and the considerable Aegean influence here marks possibly the highest point of the hegemony the Aegean partners (or their intermediaries) exercised over the locals, that appropriated both material culture and social practices (i.e. feasting) of Aegean inspiration. After that, various factors started to reverse this trend, as the amount of capital available to local communities increased substantially and consequently too the portion devoted to promoting the positions of Adriatic communities in their Relations of Interaction. Amid these potential causes is the likely inception of the cultivation of olive on a scale facilitating the accumulation of surplus as olive oil. Then too there was the increase of interaction within the region, as well as the start of strong connections with areas other than the Aegean, such as northern Italy, probably already in search of

the procurement and circulation of metals (Jung et al. 2011). That capital was indeed being accumulated is testified also by the construction of major works occurring towards the end of the RBA at Roca, most notably fortifications, which are rebuilt with an extremely labour-demanding technique. That capital was not simply accumulated but was also invested in interaction is hinted at by the more active role of groups from the central Mediterranean communities in the Aegean itself (Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age').

During this period, from a broader Mediterranean perspective, the distribution of Aegean-type material extended to regions that previously had mostly been outside the circulation of these goods. These were Sardinia, and the northern part of the Adriatic, where find-spots of Aegean-type pottery are now well attested and, because of its geographic location, one may suggest that almost certainly Apulia represented a main 'mediator' towards the north. This northern relationship is also particularly relevant on a macro-scale as, for the first time since the end of the third millennium BC (Section 'The prelude to Late Bronze Age interaction'), the interaction between the central Mediterranean and the Aegean is a two-way process in which western items/features flow the other way to Mycenaean Greece (Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age'). These items/features are Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW), the handmade pottery with distinctive Adriatic stylistic features, and the urnfield bronzes, metal items with strong similarities with Adriatic northern Italy. They witness an important inversion of the 'traditional' trend of cultural transmission which had characterized the earlier part of the millennium (Iacono 2013).

The significance of this pattern has been debated at length by various scholars and explained through a series of alternative hypotheses (Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Recent Bronze Age'). The view expressed by Jung (2009b) that, if taken diachronically the evidence of western metal items is not particularly abundant, needs to be addressed. While this is undoubtedly true in mere numbers, the evidence from Roca offers a potential explanation for such an incongruity. It has been demonstrated how metallurgy represented one of the main areas (if not the main area *tout-court*) of production in the Late Bronze Age. This is confirmed in the Final Bronze Age (FBA) phases by the recovery of hoards and stone moulds in various parts of the settlement. However, only a very limited overlap exists between the shapes attested by the moulds and those actually present in the hoards. The shapes attested by the moulds are those with the more evident Aegean affinities, whilst those in the hoards have different

cultural connections (above all to northern Italy, but also the Balkans). In other words, it is possible that Roca, along with other main nodes of interaction with the Aegean world, acted as a sort of 'cultural translator' of the capital – now represented by metal – involved in the interaction with the late post-palatial Mycenaean world. Transforming metal from the northern Adriatic into familiar Aegean shapes, these nodes substantially limited the appropriation of western features in the post-palatial metallurgy in Greece.

Jung's (2009a, 2009b) own explanation of the phenomenon of urnfield (or International) bronzes, however, is in itself problematic, as it suggests an essential transmission role performed by pirates and warriors. 'Pirates' always mirror the existing power and authority of the time involved: the more rigid and hierarchical the authority is, the more those who do not abide to its rules can be perceived as (and effectively become) pirates and outlaws. It is doubtful whether an institutionalized authority able to 'create' pirates existed in many areas of the post-palatial Aegean where many westernizing items have been recovered (Jung 2016). If we indeed want to use piracy as a category, our definition of it has to be very broad indeed: to encompass a whole spectrum of violent and non-violent activities in which people from the Adriatic, as well as other areas of Southern Italy, might have been involved (see also Hitchcock and Meier 2014 for a comparative outlook). As for warriors – they have been often claimed (particularly by scholars with a specific background in European Bronze Age archaeology) as one of the main driving forces of social change in the Bronze Age (and particularly towards the end of it; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 215–250; Molloy 2016). The main problem here lies in near invisibility of warriors in the burial record of the mature Late Bronze Age of southeastern Italy. Whether or not this indiscernibility, i.e. lack of pertinent grave goods, represented simply a ritual taboo (Recchia 2010a: 103) is difficult to assess given the archaeological documentation. At present, the most frugal explanation is that, to put it simply, warriors were not particularly preeminent, or at least no more than fishermen, farmers or carpenters (assuming that such distinctions had much meaning in the context analysed).

Weaving together the separate threads so far described, it is possible to suggest that a fundamental change in the position of southern Adriatic societies in their Relations of Interaction with external actors (i.e. Aegean and other long-range partners) was developing in the final part of the RBA, although this change was not likely to have been universal, but to have particularly concerned the main nodes in the region, such as Scoglio del Tonno or Roca. Yet the further social changes one can recognize in the subsequent FBA are

even more nodal in nature and difficult to detect outside the specificities of an individual case like Roca. At a settlement level, the possible decrease in the number of sites recognized in the previous period seems to have now ceased: many of the centres occupied during the MBA are now re-occupied. This trend is not only clearly visible in the region, but seems to be supported also by the results of the better explored areas further afield (Recchia and Ruggini 2009). At Roca, the increase of capital accumulation seems to continue, particularly visible in the major works to which the community committed itself between the end of the RBA and the whole FBA. As far as the latter period is concerned, the most significant modifications, however, occur at the level of social organization.

The whole settlement of Roca, during these phases, saw the construction of large structures, several tens of metres long. It has been argued that these represented a substantial change in the units of co-residency in the local community (Section 'The Final Bronze Age in the southern Adriatic: Modes of Production and Interaction'). This perhaps corresponded to the passage from a lineage-based unit (either patrilineal or matrilineal) to a more open cognatic one in which a larger number of people was admitted to the group (Godelier 1977: 105–106; González Ruibal 2006). As assessed in Chapter 5, since there are no hints of radical changes in agricultural production, the basis for this enlargement was perhaps the need for larger groups of people to take part in interaction-based activities (for a similar point and comparative perspective; see Grier and Jangsuk 2012).

It is important to bear in mind that the term 'interaction' needs to be understood in the widest possible sense: a set of actions and practices ranging from gift exchange to warfare, and that this operates also at an intra-site level. The different groups represented by the various large buildings at Roca had probably different degrees of capital accumulation: this may be argued from the different numbers of large wheel-made pithoi (probably used to store olive oil), as well as by metal hoards located (only in one of the buildings; Section 'The Final Bronze Age in the southern Adriatic: Modes of Production and Interaction'). These distinctions were created probably through interaction at a short and a medium range (i.e. what we have defined as the Bulk Goods Net [Section 'A radical paradigm'] and the Political-Military Net [Section 'The small-scale network during the Final Bronze Age']), as well as at the long range (as suggested by the traces of interaction with the northern Adriatic, with the Balkans and with western Greece [Section 'The wider Mediterranean context during the Final Bronze Age']). The importance of this accumulation within the political arena

of the community (i.e. in the functioning of its Mode of Production) must not be underestimated.

A plurality of storage areas, as well as different manners of surplus accumulation, may point to internal competition, in which groups tried to limit or control the access to some critical resource(s). This is the case perhaps with bronze, which appears in the form of a hoard only in one of the buildings. The emergence of this pattern was conceivably favoured by the fading away of the preeminent influence of traditional (i.e. palatial and early post-palatial) Aegean partners by the end of the RBA. The decreasing importance of connections with the Aegean and the consequent decrease of capital accumulated through interaction with these areas could have opened up a period of political instability. During this, large emerging kin groups had the possibility to compete in the political arena, enhancing their prestige within the settlement through different strategies, encompassing both the stockpiling of material goods and the expansion of the number of people affiliated to each faction. Both strategies could result in the growth in the political weight of the group, as well as an increased dependence on interaction (and hence on external resources like copper) for gathering new surplus (Wolf 1997: 97).

It is not possible to establish at present if this trend was widespread in the region, but this seems unlikely overall. In other Apulian centres (with the possible exclusion of Scoglio del Tonno), the influence of Aegean interaction was nowhere as intense as at Late Bronze Age Roca, and consequently elsewhere the effects of its disappearance, although not devoid of social implications, were likely to be felt less acutely and more gradually. Yet the spread of wheel-made pithoi in the region indicates that through the later stages of the Bronze Age, dynamics similar to those at Roca, though more limited in extent and intensity, were probably at work more broadly within southern Adriatic communities.

From the point of view of pottery manufacture, in the FBA the existence of pottery craft specialists had become crucial for local communities and their new social settings. The social configuration described and characterized by increased capital accumulation demanded specific pottery shapes whose production could not be anything but specialized, most notably wheel-made pithoi and Southern Italian Protogeometric (SIP) pottery. These had relatively high technical requirements and were strongly related to one another, betokening a possible single productive context for both (Bettelli and Levi 2003). While pithoi served a fundamentally 'material' function, SIP had more symbolic roles, partly similar to that fulfilled by Aegean-type material and partly to that of traditional Apennine pottery. The analogy with Aegean-type pottery is suggested by the overall rarity

of SIP, while that with Apennine *Impasto* is instead supported by the greater variability of SIP pottery in comparison to Subapennine *Impasto* (twenty-eight vs. eighteen stylistic variables over a much smaller number of sites; see Section ‘The small-scale network during the Final Bronze Age’).

The high recurrence of SIP motifs in a number of sites identified through network analysis reveals the existence of a dense lattice of exchanges which was even more developed than (or at least every bit as much as) in the RBA. To this extent, it is interesting to note that, although the analysis shifted its focus from incised to plastic and finally again to painted decoration, the overall trend of increased connectivity from Apennine to Protovillanovan does not seem to be influenced by this methodological choice. The social practices behind these might have been similar to those of the previous period, and yet the distribution of this pottery was much more limited in terms of the number of different communities that could access it. This implies that SIP was a prestige product, whose use was mostly restricted to a small number of communities which had at their disposal enough surplus to afford the work of craft specialists (*contra* Herring 1998). Furthermore, the rise to prominence of this purely local class of fine painted wares, and its deployment within local interaction networks spells a new social setting, one in which Aegean influence is rapidly disappearing, to leave room for a principally indigenous tradition of material display.

This period corresponds to the later phases of the late post-palatial period in the Aegean, where the centres that remained relatively thriving in LH IIIC Early-Middle were now also fading (Section ‘The wider Mediterranean context during the Final Bronze Age’). In the west, only Apulia, and more specifically the main centres in the region, retained some sort of Aegean connection. Now these were increasingly focused on the newly emerging centres on the western Greek mainland. Interestingly (albeit quantitative data for Scoglio del Tonno are far from secure), the sites across Apulia with only a *few* finds, as identified in the previous period, have now completely disappeared. Late Aegean-type material is either completely absent or present in a good proportion. This pattern suggests that, even though this material was still locally produced at a few centres, the trajectory of the so-called Italo-Mycenaean production had definitely reached its final stage. A new pattern of connections, less ‘political’ and more consumption oriented, seems to be attested at Roca during the FBA, where (possibly perfumed) oil containers were acquired from production centres in Achaea and neighbouring areas.

The other dominant directions of interaction beyond the Aegean were undoubtedly first with the northern Adriatic, which continued from Subapennine times and was mostly centred on bronze, and again with the Balkans, which was now revived, focusing both on metals and on other products such as bitumen. As far as metal is concerned, while its context of deposition is often uncertain and definitely in need of careful evaluation, the sheer quantity present in some of the major hoards in Apulia leaves little doubt regarding the amount of capital gathered by the main centres in the region. Abundant metal circulation endowed the small-scale economies of the southern Adriatic with an element of liquidity previously unattested. The probable production in large numbers of artefacts explicitly destined for exchange (such as axes in mint condition, still preserving casting burrs; see Section 'The individual community during the Final Bronze Age') is indicative of a fundamental change in the way local communities viewed notions of value attaching to specific categories of goods. The very fact that long-range interaction was articulated through a material as cost-efficient as bronze (in terms of the ratio between value and bulk) suggests that more economically oriented considerations played a significant role in this choice. As for bitumen, another substance probably from Albania that circulated, this was used to render pottery containers impermeable, a function that was probably already needed at earlier stages of the local Bronze Age because of the relative lack of impermeability of *Impasto*. The fact that this use emerges only at this point indicates an attention to the effectiveness of liquid storage (possibly related to the presence of high-value liquids like oil) that was previously not required or considered important.

To summarize the evidence related to the last part of the Italian Bronze Age, it is possible to suggest that during this period the amount of capital available to southern Adriatic societies further increased. This is perceived not only in the scale of the structures recovered in this chronological horizon (i.e. fortifications, large multifunctional structures), but also by artefacts (i.e. wheel-made pithoi, large SIP vessels, metal hoards), as well as by indirect hints such as the continued existence of craft specialists (for pottery and metals).

There is also indirect evidence of additional growth in the portion of the surplus invested in the improvement of Relations of Interaction with extra-societal interaction partners. This is suggested by the increase in the size of the unit of co-residency (which may be linked to the needs of interaction activities; see Section 'The Final Bronze Age in the southern Adriatic: Modes of Production and Interaction') and in the investment of large amounts of surplus in artefacts produced for the exchange (see aforementioned text).

E pluribus unum, ex uno plures?

Different networks of interaction, from the site centred to the long range, have contributed to the general dynamics identified, even though direct evidence for such in the archaeological record can sometimes be scarce. For instance, during the RBA, long-range external exchange favoured strategies of social consumption and display (i.e. feasting) within the community, which had repercussions for its political organization (i.e. embryonic emergence of institutionalized power). Likewise, in the subsequent FBA, the extension in size of the co-residential unit and the possible process of factionalization of kin groups at Roca might have triggered an increase of exogamy which, in turn, fostered regional interaction.

On a larger scale, and comparably, it can be noted how the abandonment of Trinitapoli, one of the early centres of accumulation in MBA Apulia (Tunzi Sisto 1999), and apparently showing relatively few links with the Aegean world, corresponded to the initial phase of the Subapennine period, which is slightly before the collapse of Mycenaean palaces. Similarly, the production of purple dye at Coppa Nevigata (a site in itself strongly related to Trinitapoli' see Section 'The Middle Bronze Age Adriatic society and its connections: Modes of Production and Interaction') seems to experience a sharp decrease again in the Subapennine, even if almost no Aegean-type material of palatial times is recorded at the site (Cazzella et al. 2005).

A vast net of relations entangled individuals, social groups and communities, affecting each geographical sphere defined in the analysis as a heuristic device. This overall lattice was remodelling itself again by the end of the Bronze Age, dwindling and becoming, to some extent, more fragmented (Peroni 1996: 302–408).

The new social setting of the FBA, characterized by the existence of closely spaced sites with increasing capital availability, triggered, perhaps somewhat similarly to what happened in earlier MBA times, occasional warfare episodes, such as the one that occurred in Roca at the end of the Bronze Age occupation there. Contrary to what happened in the earlier part of the second millennium BC, this time local competition is definitely more apparent. Near Roca there are plenty of potential FBA–EIA major sites, only few of which have been thoroughly explored. To the case of Leuca already described (Section 'The individual community during the Final Bronze Age'; Benzi and Graziadio 1996), it is possible to add Otranto, which will become one of the main exchange nodes of the Corinthian network to the west during first half of the first millennium BC (D'Andria 1995; Orlando 1996, 2002). Likewise, the settlement of Castro

(Coluccia 2009) has probably a similar potential, though only systematic research will be able to confirm this.

After the FBA, the structured connection between Apulia and the Greek mainland was not to be revived on any significant scale for a time interval whose duration is bound to the notorious controversy regarding the start of the Iron Age in Italy (e.g. Bartoloni and Delpino 2005). Linkages emerge again sometime in the late eighth century BC, when, along with the presence of Corinthian imports, local matt-painted traditions have considerable stylistic affinities with such products (Herring 1998; Yntema 1990: 69–70). Similar dynamics are also recorded, most obviously in the Ionian Islands (Morgan 2003: 218–221; Souyoudzoglou-Haywood 1999), and less so in apparently distant areas such as Epirus and Albania (Coldstream 2003: 188–189; Stocker 2009). Discussion in the previous chapters related to the Bronze Age has clearly shown how this isolation was more apparent than real.

At about this time, i.e. towards the end of the eighth century BC, is to be placed the activity of early Greek colonists, when, according to classic Thucydidean chronology, the colony of Taras was founded. This, however, is another story.

The social logic of interaction: Then and now

The interconnections described have allowed us investigate a specific historical instance, offering a glimpse into the intimate connection between long-range interaction, capital accumulation and the development of inequality within prehistoric societies inhabiting the southern Adriatic. The conclusions that we can thus derive can represent useful cautionary tales also for the present.

As we have seen, intercommunity mobility was a prerequisite for the very survival of communities around the southern Adriatic from the most remote phases of their existence. With a few exceptions, however, this movement did not produce considerable disparities within the societies concerned: its primary result was the creation by the MBA of fortification walls that were principally public in nature and whose existence arguably did not benefit in particular a specific sector of the community but as a whole. Such developments predated most of the traces of accrual of personal/group-specific wealth that we can detect in the archaeological record of Apulia. This pattern and existing connections were however at some point impinged upon by the expanding Aegean network when many individual cultural features of the Aegean world were being taken up by

groups in the Southern Italy. The impact of this influence in Apulia was not negligible and considerably affected local network of interactions. This is not something entirely surprising, as through history, to this day, we continue to experience how the articulation of different modes of production and global trade yields substantial effects (Wolf 1997). Yet, at the same time, the effect of the encounter between Aegean and central Mediterranean societies in terms of political and social organization was extremely variable.

In some cases this promoted, in combination with local dynamics, the growth of early forms of class differentiation: this existed perhaps in Sicily, as well as in selected sites in Southern Italy. At other places, like Roca, which were much more integrated into relationships with the Aegean world, the surplus produced by interaction and mobility was simply reabsorbed into the public sphere, through the staging of feasting events and interventions of interest to the whole (or much) of the community (e.g. fortifications). Scott (2009: 278) would define these as state-preventing strategies, that is, strategies aimed at averting the start of institutionalized hierarchies.

More profound changes in the process of differentiation within southern Adriatic societies commenced only later, during the FBA, with the beginning of hoarding and the accumulation of substantial amounts of agricultural surplus. As I have discussed elsewhere, these changes were certainly connected with interaction, but materialized only slowly, as and when the capital introduced through interaction had started to change the internal patterns of production in the communities involved (Iacono 2016). Even at this time, however, the outcome was not the emergence of an institutionalized hierarchy between social groups, but rather of sundry differences within a pattern of generalized societal change. What really seems to prevent the increase of hierarchies is the ability of different groups within societies (and not just one) to access a relatively high amount of surplus, to be reinvested in mobility and interaction. This, beyond any doubt, has caveats also for the present, particularly considering the ubiquity of phenomena of concentration of power and surplus in the present.

All in all, a main point that southern Adriatic connections demonstrate is that the development of inequality is not hardwired in the growth of increasing long-range mobility and connections. Equally, attempts at removing or limiting such interaction will not prevent the occurrence of increasing societal difference. And this is valid in the remote Mediterranean past as it is today in a fragmented political landscape where nationalism and xenophobia promote fragmentation and isolationism.

Stories like the one told here, where hierarchies do not develop, despite increasing interaction mobility and exchange through time, have been traditionally interpreted as ‘failed trajectories’, an abortive experiment on the path to ‘real’ civilization (e.g. Diamond 2011; see also Bernbeck 2012; Hahn 2012; Wengrow 2010). This ‘real’ civilization narrative is so ingrained in our evaluation of history and current society that indeed arguing for the paradigmatic importance of these alternative pathways is counter-intuitive. However, the southern Adriatic example has suggested not only that some of these non-hierarchical, highly connected and mobility-oriented communities managed to thrive for themselves, but also that they become hegemonic vis-à-vis some of the groups with which they were connected, promoting a model of ‘civilization’ that was profoundly different from that of palatial states of the BA eastern Mediterranean. Whether this difference was only manifested in the archaeological record or was also in local social organization, only further contextual analyses will tell, as indeed the Aegean example has sufficiently proved that these two domains are not straightforwardly correlated.

At a broader social level, the example of Adriatic societies may be viewed as positively expanding the range of what is communally achievable for a group of people in the past as well as today.

The telling of such stories from a remote past may teach us today to look beyond what appears at present inescapable trends, and encourage us to work towards realizing alternative pathways to living in an interconnected and unequal world.

Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 Despite being absent in programmatic intents, to their credit the majority of the authors in that work actually did address in some form social differentiation.
- 2 This is the definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.
- 3 One obvious exception to this trend is the work of David Anthony, who has been working on migrations over much of the 1990s (Anthony 2010).
- 4 It is important to highlight that, unlike what has been suggested by DeLanda (2006) and others (see earlier discussion on ANT), the ‘units’ here discussed will be made only by sentient beings and not inanimate objects (see Ingold 2008).
- 5 A process of philological and historical re-examination, fundamentally aided by the publication of texts which were previously little known in the English-speaking world (e.g. the ethnological notebook published only in the 1970s; Marx 1974), has also allowed the appreciation of the historical development which has led from relatively simple unilinear notions of development, to a more sophisticated understanding of societal dynamics in a wide variety of settings (Anderson 2010).
- 6 Occasionally, Marx also included among the Means of Production human qualities directly affecting production, such as skills and physical strength; see Cohen 2000: 33, 44.
- 7 Parallel insights along these lines have been also reached by intersectionalism, a strand of feminist theory (see Battle-Baptiste 2017; Collins 2000).
- 8 Karatani (somewhat revising older arguments by Polanyi; see Karatani 2014; Polanyi 1944) has recently suggested the replacement of the notion of Modes of Production with one of Modes of Exchange. While recognizing the usefulness of some of the insights entailed by such an approach, in the perspective endorsed by this book, Modes of Production and related concepts of means and relations still remain as the concept better equipped to explain historical dynamics, as they create a logical nexus between the action of various social groups. On the other hand, Modes of Exchanges seem to be ‘ideal’ types always contemporarily present in societies and that therefore leave little room for change.
- 9 It must be noted that the definition of Means of Interaction proposed here is not only in part subsumed in that of Means of Production, but also in part coincides with what Marx rather dismissively defined as circulation costs (Marx 1992: 207–229). These were something that because ‘arise simply from a change in form of the commodity cannot add any value to it’ (Marx 1992: 226–227). While this is

undoubtedly true if we examine circulation costs/Means of Interaction from the vantage point of the individual entity, yet if we put them at the centre of the analysis of the inter-societal domain things start to look differently.

- 10 The introduction of the discussion on the importance of distant knowledge in the archaeological discussion of the Mediterranean and Europe is due to the pivotal work of Broodbank (2000) and Kristiansen and Larsson (2005).
- 11 A paradigmatic example of this process is offered by the way tea was rebranded as an element of English identity during Victorian times (Fromer 2008).
- 12 The notion of style adopted here is a rather traditional one, including decoration and non-functional morphological variability. While this has considerable shortcomings (see Dietler and Herbich 1998; Gosselain 1998), it is undoubted that much of the stylistic information available for ceramics in Apulia as well as elsewhere in the Mediterranean rarely includes more than this. As a consequence, while the formal analysis will focus on classic (reads ‘decorative’) stylistic features, I will however try to discursively introduce an assessment of the context of production and how that changed over time in relation also to technology.
- 13 Jung explicitly defines Mycenaean societies in terms of belonging to the ‘Asiatic mode of production’, using the traditional Marxian category that has been subject to much criticism. Here the definition of Tributary mode will be preferred (see Banaji 2010; 17–30; Wolf 1997).
- 14 For a distinct and looser use of the term ‘institutionalization’, see Kristiansen and Larsson 2006.
- 15 While, as suggested by Clastres (2007: 79–80), settlement size is not univocally correlated to any specific form of social organization (state or non-state), only a small minority of groups in the Standard Cross Cultural Sample with average community size of 0 to 200 people have some form of institutionalized hereditary aristocracy (see <http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/cgi-bin/uncgi/Ethnoatlas/atlas.vopts>).

Chapter 2

- 1 Hybrid, intermediate ship designs have also been suggested as emerging – in particular towards the end of the LBA (Wedde 2000).
- 2 This is the case of the well-known Aleppo pines, which were widely traded in the ancient eastern Mediterranean for the purpose of building ships.
- 3 In a rather modernist fashion, Smith (1987) suggested that local southern Italian communities actively tried to engage in interaction with the Aegean world in order to ‘improve’ their economic conditions (1987: 164).
- 4 A golden dagger has been recovered underwater off the later Bronze Age site of Torre Santa Sabina, close to Brindisi. In this case, unfortunately, the poor level of

preservation of the object does not allow any secure chronological assessment, although the relative geographic proximity of the Kotor Bay finds (Mala and Velika Gruda are just in front of Torre Santa Sabina on the other side of the Adriatic) suggests that an Chalcolithic/EBA date for this dagger is at least possible, if not probable.

Chapter 3

- 1 The figures discussed here, as well as in the next chapters, are based almost entirely on published material (with a couple of personal communications). These include sites, tombs/cemeteries, caves and hoards dating from the Protoapennine to the Protovillanovan period. The area north of the Gargano has not been considered, as it constitutes a completely different region from the rest of Apulia, with remarkably different settlement dynamics, strongly linked to the exploitation of rivers and valleys. Data coming from systematic surface investigation, which give details of various nuclei of settlement, have been incorporated with the rest of the evidence; here all the nuclei of settlement less than 1 kilometre from one another are taken as part of the same site. Tombs/cemeteries or cave occupation identified by previous research as connected to a specific nearby settlement have also been considered as part of that settlement.
- 2 The case of the large fortifications of Roca (measuring over 20 metres in width; see later in the chapter) is admittedly an extreme one for which a large amount of manpower was probably needed. When assessing their size vis-à-vis labour expenditure, however, it is important to keep in mind that these have been realized over a period of 100 years in three different phases. Whether the size of fortifications reveals the existence of a 'stable elite' as suggested by Scarano (2012: 384), this is a hypothesis needing confirmation through comparison with other categories of evidence (e.g. the funerary domain).
- 3 The same territorial restrictions explained in note 1 also apply here. The sites analysed are not all the sites dating to the MBA, but a more restricted subset from which pottery has been published (even if selectively).
- 4 For some of the later motifs, that is, those dating to the mature Apennine phase, minute typological differentiations have been somewhat simplified considering some motifs jointly (variants of Macchiarola 1987, no. 80 as well as nos. 82 and 83, 146 and 151, 163 and 164, 175a and 177a in the same catalogue).
- 5 Gosselein (1998: 101) notes that potters' movement in southern Cameroon normally occurs within a range of 50 kilometres.
- 6 The possible existence of Aegean-type materials predating LH IIIA2 has been argued by Vianello (2005: 151), but this suggestion remains speculative.

- 7 See Scott (2000). Modularity here is calculated through the software Gephi, using the method proposed by Blondel et al. (2008).
- 8 Many doubts on the dating of some of the material from Monte Grande have been expressed by various scholars (e.g. Leighton 2005: 277), although according to Jones and others (2014: 224–225) there does indeed seem to be a nucleus of definite LH I–II material.
- 9 Both the goblet and additional Minyan fragment (see Fig. 3.7e and discussion in Guglielmino 2013) have been analysed and have proved to be imports (the former from the Peloponnese the latter from a non-better-specified region, Guglielmino et al. 2010: 258, Tab. I, nos. 37, 356).
- 10 Recently, Eder and Jung (2015) have seen the so-called Mycenaean takeover of Knossos (the appearance of a Greek-speaking bureaucracy at the site) as part of the culmination of a generalized rise to power of an individual political entity, whose centre is to be located in the Argolid and that encompassed also Crete. A detailed discussion of such an argument goes beyond the scope of this book; however, while the existence of a unified polity over much of the Aegean is debatable, their suggestion of an extremely uniform administrative/institutional vocabulary certainly speaks of a considerable level of osmosis between different tribute-taking groups around the Aegean and their administrative offices.
- 11 The existence of early olive domestication has been suggested at EBA Punta Zambrone, although the evidence for this seems to thin over the course of the BA (D'Auria et al. 2017).
- 12 There is, naturally enough, an element of extreme simplification in this proposal. Certainly the shape of the vessel is also very important in supporting the hypothesis (e.g. larger vessels could directly store more surplus, while vessels with a possibly personal use could be more easily connected to individuals). However, as an average, rarely *Impasto* vessels bear more than one decorative motif each, and therefore in general terms the trend suggested should hold true.
- 13 The only potential piece of evidence is represented by a local MBA ceramic container possibly recovered by chance, off the Cape of Leuca, but there is no contextual information (Auriemma 2004: 131, no. 414).
- 14 The relative scarceness of loom weights and spindle-whorls at Coppa noted by Cazzella et al. (2012: 164) has led them to downplay textile production at the site. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that what we are dealing with is a household-level production that is not expected to leave substantial traces, such as dedicated areas within habitations (these will start to appear only in the Iron Age; see Gleba 2007; Mistretta 2004). Finally, in Bronze Age Italy textile-related objects were also made of wood and therefore rarely survived in archaeological deposits (all the examples of wooden spindle-whorls come from the Terramare, where they were preserved due to favourable conditions; see Mistretta 2004: 176).

Chapter 4

- 1 I owe this identification to the precious advice by Olga Kriszkowska.
- 2 The occasional use of the wheel for some large closed *Impasto* vessels from the Sibaritide area has been suggested by Levi (Levi 1999: 226) from the RBA onward, but this feature is very rare and, at present, unattested in Apulia.
- 3 These features, excluding complex knot and cordon features (no. 16), which are probably limited only to the RBA, are mostly elements that start towards the end of the Subapennine and continue in the subsequent Protovillanovan/FBA (but recovered only in layers dating to the former period). Among these are twisted rolled handles (in Italian *anse a tortiglione*, see Appendix 2, Table 2, no. 15), grooves-and-dot decoration (in Italian *decorazione a solcature e coppelle* [no. 13], an influence from northern Italy as we will see) and bowls with the carination decorated with furrows (no. 14). It is necessary to highlight that in no way can the grooves-and-dots decoration be assimilated to the Apennine tradition of decoration. This is not only because there is a considerable chronological gap between the disappearance of the first and the start of the second, but also because grooves-and-dots decoration entails not incision but the actual removal of the clay (a practice quite rare in Apennine pottery) and does not express itself in anything more complex than simple linear or zigzag motifs (see Damiani 2010).
- 4 See, for instance, the Protoapennine examples from Porto Perone (1963, fig. 34, no. 19, fig. 59 no. 5), Bari (Radina 1988; fig. 96 no. 7) and Cavallino (Ingravallo 1990, Pl. 23 no. 2).
- 5 All this has suggested to Jung (2016, 2017) that the destructions were the ultimate result of a large upheaval between different social classes from which, eventually (i.e. not before the LH IIIC Middle), emerged a new different political and social order.
- 6 According to Leighton's (2011) most recent proposal, the habitations connected with the Bronze Age phase of occupation of the site are to be identified in some of the artificial caves located around the area.
- 7 Mountjoy mentions only one example from a chronological horizon comparable with that of the Pantalica culture (Mountjoy 1999: 222, no. 132).

Chapter 5

- 1 Guglielmino (1999: 476) suggests parallels with Cretan and Sicilian potters. However, according to the comprehensive ethnographic survey by Giannopoulou (2010: 71), the standard technique for Cretan *pitharia* (the modern equivalent of

prehistoric and ancient pithoi) involves direct throwing of each segment of the pithos on the vessel rather than forming of separated bands.

- 2 Quagliati mentions the existence of remains of huts in the upper layer of its sketchy sequence (perhaps corresponding to the final moment of the Bronze Age, as attested by the association with ‘yellowish geometric pottery’ more likely to be local SIP than Aegean-type pottery; see Quagliati 1900: 416).
- 3 This non-functional role is suggested by the fact they had extensive casting burrs and a shaft-hole too small for effective hafting.
- 4 The seal from Roca, said by the scholars to be a ‘cylinder seal’, is actually a standard Aegean type lentoid seal (see Iacono 2010).
- 5 This suggestion might seem a bit of a stretch but, looking at the reconstruction proposed for similar structures around the central Mediterranean (e.g. at Morgantina), it becomes more credible (see the following text; Leighton 2011).
- 6 Structures with similar multiple roles (although in her view connected with a strict kinship structure) have been interestingly suggested by Borgna for post-palatial societies in the Aegean (Borgna 2013: 134).
- 7 Only two fragments of SIP have been recovered at the site (Leighton 2012: 149 nos. 166–167). However, it needs pointing out that another local variety of fine painted pottery (i.e. plumed ware typical of the Pantalica culture) was well attested at the site: this might have played the same role as did SIP in Apulia.

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